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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-167
Monday
29 August 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

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Foreign Minister Receives FRG's Wischnewski

LD2608175988 Prague CTK in English
1533 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received here today member of the SPD Presidium and vice-chairman of the West German Bundestag's Foreign Affairs Committee Hans-Juergen Wischnewski.

The two officials spoke highly of the dynamic development of bilateral relations and discussed also international topics and regional conflicts, especially the Middle East and Central America.

Bilak Receives Wischnewski

LD2708164288 Prague CTK in English
1553 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium Member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak received here today Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, SPD Presidium member and vice-chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee, who is privately visiting Czechoslovakia.

The two officials exchanged views on the situation in Europe and the world and on possibilities of expanding cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia, and contacts between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the West German Social Democratic Party.

Chnoupek Arrives in FRG for Working Visit

LD2808195088 Prague CTK in English
1759 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn Aug 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek arrived here for a two-day official working visit today, at the invitation of his West German colleage Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

New stimuli for the development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany have been brought about by this year's visit to Czechoslovakia by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

A part of the developing dialogue are also visits exchanged by the foreign ministers of the two countries, which have become regular in the past few years, serving to find new possibilities of cooperation in all spheres, advantageous to both sides. Bohuslav Chnoupek's current visit reciprocates West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's visit to Czechoslovakia last November.

The Federal Republic of Germany is Czechoslovakia's biggest trading partner among the capitalist states, with the value of bilateral trade amounting to about 4,500 million West German marks annually in the last three years. A total of 81 agreements on cooperation valid last year are double the 1985 figure but do not cover all possibilities. The two states have not yet used to a greater extent modern ways of cooperation including the setting up of joint ventures, which are the largest source of progress in economic cooperation. Czechoslovakia therefore expects Minister Chnoupek's visit to produce further concrete proposals concerning cooperation in this sphere.

Significant progress has been achieved in environmental care—a government agreement on coopertion in this sphere was signed in October last year.

As regards Czechoslovakia's external relations in the field of culture, the FRG ranks third after the Soviet Union and the GDR. Major events in the sphere of culture, science, education and sports take place under an agreement on cultural cooperation signed in 1978. Active cooperation is conducted between the FRG-Czechoslovakia society and the Committee for the Federal Republic of Germany of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations.

Citizens Occupy FRG East Berlin Mission

LD2708180088 Hamburg DPA in German
1618 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Bonn/East Berlin (DPA)—Several GDR citizens have been in the FRG's permanent mission in East Berlin since Thursday in order to be allowed to travel to the West. This was revealed today. There has been no official confirmation so far. Government Spokesman Friedrich Ost refused to comment in Bonn with regard to earlier humanitarian cases.

It has been reliably reported that either 6 or 7 GDR citizens, some of whom came to the mission independently of the others, are refusing to leave until they have been assured of an exit permit to the FRG. It is reported that they come from different parts of the GDR.

According to information from the BERLINER MORGENPOST, the 7 [as received] GDR citizens have been in the permanent mission since the middle of the week. They expect to be taken from there to West Berlin under diplomatic protection. All the efforts by State Secretary Hans-Otto Braeutigam and his officials to persuade the GDR citizens to leave the permanent mission voluntarily and to obtain a settling of the exit question from the GDR Foreign Ministry have failed, the newspaper reports in its Sunday edition.

The GDR citizens are not related to one another and are refusing to leave the building. So far, the GDR has strictly refused to agree to a positive settling of the exit applications. GDR officials are quoted as saying: "The GDR does not allow itself to be blackmailed." At best the GDR is prepared to allow the 7 exemption from punishment. According to the report, the permanent mission expects the 7 to be shown the door.

In addition, the BERLINER MORGENPOST states that in the previous week 16 GDR citizens spent 3 days in the waiting room of the British Embassy in Unter den Linden. They were finally shown the door "gently but firmly" by British consular officials. Before that, the GDR Foreign Ministry had guaranteed immunity from punishment. [passage omitted]

Citizens Leave Mission

LD2808110088 Hamburg DPA in German
1047 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Six GDR citizens who have been inside the FRG's permanent mission in East Berlin since Thursday left the building again this morning, Eberhard Grashoff, spokesman of the permanent mission, announced. The GDR authorities have promised immunity from punishment but have not made any promises concerning exit visas to the West.

Krolikowski Receives Malaysian Official

LD2608221788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1555 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 26 Aug (ADN)—The development of international relations should be stabilized and strengthened through further steps of disarmament, security and confidence-building, Dr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and GDR first deputy foreign minister, and Malaysian Deputy Foreign Minister Tok Muda Dr Abdullah Fadzir Che Wan said in Berlin today.

The two politicians welcomed the coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as an important and disarmament measure. One should not permit that the medium-range missiles to be eliminated be compensated through the restocking and modernizing of other kinds of weapons.

Krolikowski spoke in this connection about GDR efforts to impart, together with its allies in the Warsaw Pact, continuity to the process of disarmament and the amelioration of the international situation. The proposals for the creation of a nuclear-free zone, a chemical weapon-free corridor, and of a zone of confidence and security in central Europe are realizable intermediate steps toward this.

Dr Fadzir is in the GDR for political consultations.

Reportage on Grosz Meeting With Ceausescu

Party Spokesman Previews Talks

LD2608183288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] As we reported in our headlines, Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu are to meet in Arad the day after tomorrow, that is, 28 August. Attila Balint asked Laszlo Major, the party's spokesman, about the details:

[Begin Major recording] As is known, the Hungarian side has on several occasions urged bilateral talks at various levels to discuss the problems which have been burdening Hungarian-Romanian relations for a long time. This was reaffirmed by the letter our party sent in June in reply to a letter by the RCP, in which we suggested a meeting of prime ministers among other things.

Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, has personally stressed our readiness for talks in several of his statements. Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, suggested through diplomatic channels on Thursday, 25 August, an exchange of opinions at summit level at the weekend.

The MSZMP Politburo discussed the Romanian initiative at an extraordinary meeting today. In full knowledge of its responsibility toward the Hungarian nation, and in view of the situation that has developed, it decided that despite the unusually short time before the meeting the Hungarian side should accept the suggestion.

The bilateral talks at the highest level represent the realization of our readiness for discussion. We are encouraged toward dialogue also by the circumstance that the problems burdening Hungarian-Romanian relations point beyond the relations between the two countries and disturb the cooperation of the socialist community countries and also the further deepening of European detente and trust.

At the talks between the general secretaries we shall be keeping in view the dependence on one another of the Hungarian people, the Romanian people, and all the peoples living in this region, and their historic common destiny. We are adherents of the principle of discussions without preconditions. We have no reservations for the commencement of dialogue, for the settling of the tension-producing problems. For our part we are open; we responsibly weigh up every Romanian initiative.

On the basis of our principled stand and on the basis of the two peoples' real interests and of mutual advantages, we strive in order that our bilateral relations should develop without artificial obstacles, in the political, economic, cultural, population, and nationality spheres alike.

We shall discuss every issue which is of common interest for our countries, peoples, and parties which justifiably worry our country's population and which more and more preoccupy the international public.

We are convinced that it is the MSZMP's national and internationalist duty that, in harmony with its activity so far, it should do everything, decidedly and responsibly, for opening up the cooperation possibilities based on the two peoples' mutual interests.

We are convinced that the Hungarian-Romanian talks can justifiably claim wide-ranging interest. In this, too, we are following the practice developed recently: We shall give honest and open information about the discussions. [end recording]

Grosz Departs for Arad

LD2808061188 Budapest MTI in English 0549 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party left for Arad where he is to hold a working meeting with Nicolae Ceausescu, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party. He is accompanied by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, Laszlo Major, head of the CC Bureau, Imre Szokai, the deputy head of the Foreign Affairs department and Pal Szutz, the ambassador of Hungary to Bucharest.

Grosz Interviewed After Talks

LD2808233188 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2050 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by correspondents Katalin Rangos and Istvan Kulcsar in Szeged, Hungary "following a news conference this evening in Arad, Romania;" recorded]

[Text] [Rangos] I think we should begin this interview at the end: Was this meeting suitable for settling relations or is the result nothing more than the beginning of a dialogue?

[Grosz] No, it is a question of something more than that. Look, for 11 years there has been no bilateral meeting between general secretaries. The general secretaries did naturally meet at international meetings but there have been no bilateral talks. It is obvious that there are things to discuss. So, it is a question of more than that.

[Rangos] Did we go with a concrete program package?

[Grosz] Yes. Well, we formulated our ideas, our requests, our debate topics in 10 proposition sentences.

[Rangos] What were these?

[Grosz] We went through them all nicely, systematically; four times through every topic. First of all, I said what they were; our kind host replied. Then I again replied. Then he again replied. Well, this is how this is usually done; as a matter of fact, there is nothing surprising in this.

[Rangos] What are the most essential of the 10 points?

[Grosz] Well, it is very difficult to make distinctions, to put emphases. They are all important for us. One of the big questions was how—in what way—this whole settlement development program stands, how it is developing, in any case how much of it is true. We have heard so many things. Then, from various newspapers, we obtained elements of information from half-sentence allusions. Various publications have been picked up, propaganda forums, things like that. Quite simply we wished to know what is the truth. We stated our political concerns in this connection—not the economic ones, because we do not have them—but our political ones. In the end [words indistinct] that we send a delegation, composed of council functionaries, deputies, party workers, who would look around a bit in the area and see how this program is developing.

[Kulcsar] In Romania in general or in Hungarian-inhabited regions?

[Grosz] In both areas, in Hungarian-inhabited regions as well and in non-Hungarian-inhabited regions. I have the feeling, and of course I only dare to formulate this terribly carefully, that we are not absolutely accurately informed about what is happening there, to begin with about what phase has been reached in the implementation of this conception of 10-15 years ago, because this was formulated 15 years ago.

[Rangos] And did you get closer today to a realistic assessment of the situation?

[Grosz] Look, a realistic assessment, in my view, consists of two elements: first, of ideology, second, of practice. I was acquainted with the theory; as for the practice, I had no means of getting to know this. It was precisely for this reason that we asked them to make it possible for a group to look around. As for how big this group should be, and when, this we will discuss. And our dear negotiating partners were receptive to this. I consider this to be a very big thing. If this can contribute to our dissolving everything that has no justification [letjogosultsaga], let us call a spade a spade and start to talk about the real problems, if they really are problems. Because now we are a waging a sort of wild struggle, such that we do not really see against what and for what we are struggling. So I consider such a (?dialogue) to be an important thing.

An equally essential issue is how, and in what way, will be the fate of the Romanian citizens settled in Hungary, the Hungarian-speakers—and not just the Hungarian-speakers—in the future. Here, as a matter of fact, the big issue is the problem of family reunification. You know, we have issued nearly 7,000—at least, the day before yesterday it was somewhere near 7,000—settlement permits. The demand stands at over 10,000. This is slowly swelling and we must reckon with this realistically. Now then, our partners, I feel, have handled this affair with a very great readiness for toleration. As a matter of fact, as far as principles are concerned they profess the same things as we do: In other words that we are not encouraging anyone to leave their native land, but if they want to leave, if they want to settle, no obstacle will be put in their way. And in so far as there are eventual family reunification problems, then they will be partners in this.

[Kulcsar] Did they explicitly promise this?

[Grosz] This was said literally at the exchange of views. We also profess this. We do not encourage anyone, either, to come here; but whoever requests this—and there is no concrete reason why we should not allow them in—then we shall assent to it, and we shall issue the settlement permit.

[Rangos] How much of your talks, which lasted nearly 9 hours, were devoted to the nationality question.?

[Grosz] About a third. For beside nationality questions we devoted quite a lot of time, to our joy, to economic cooperation, because we discussed and debated this on Friday at the Politburo session. In the longterm, the basis of cooperation is economic cooperation, joint enterprises, appearance in third markets, the search for market opportunities. Everywhere in the world political processes are considerably influenced by economic processes. If I wanted to be blunt I would say that in certain cases they are even determined by them. I do not want to be blunt, so I say that they are influenced.

[Rangos] We have had fewer problems with this until now.

[Grosz] Not quite. This is not true. Goods exchange has developed very nicely in the recent past. Perhaps it was one of the fastest-developing relationships. There have always been problems here as well, but we must admit that our weaknesses played as big a role in this as our partners'. And if I go on I must also add that we do not have problems in good turnover only vis-a-vis Romania. We also have problems with other partners.

So there have not been any special problems in the turnover of goods, but in the establishment of joint enterprises and the search for possibilities for scientific-technical cooperation, and in appearing in third markets we have had problems. We have not enjoyed the possibility of partnership so far. But we have now agreed on this, this is very important.

We have also agreed that the historical [word indistinct] committee should get to work. I cannot be more precise than to say that daily politics and the workshop activities of historical science do not have to be mixed up. The past can be analyzed in many different ways, maybe many different conclusions can be drawn from it. But it is not absolutely necessary to draw political conclusions today from the debates, the debates of the past.

This committee has not been sufficiently active recently. Maybe it has not been possible. I do not want to criticize the members. All I am saying is that the committee has not worked. Now it is our common will that it should renew its activities. The same applies to the cultural committee. This is also very important. There is a debate here and there will be in the future as well. But we do not have to sort it out at the level of general secretaries or prime ministers. It must be decided within a committee itself which arguments and counterarguments have substance, whether cultural activity is really one-sided or not. This cannot be discussed this way. But to create the possibility, the political conditions for that, this was a good opportunity.

[Bangos] Did we make any recommendations regarding the restoration of consulates-general?

[Grosz] Yes, there are two questions which we have agreed to take off the agenda for good. One is the restoration of consulates-general.

It is a stance of principle on the part of our Romanian partners that they close down or do not run all kinds of consulates, consulates-general. If this is a stance of principle than we must acknowledge it.

[Correspondent] Was any reason given?

[Grosz] Their answer is that the consulates have not produced the results during the course of their work which had been expected of them. At this moment, as we know from the information available, the Soviets and Czechoslovaks have offices of representation in the port of Constanta. These fulfill a similar function. No one has the type of consulate-general which we used to maintain. And they have no desire to develop this either for us or for anyone else.

The other thing is the matter of houses of culture. This has been a subject of debate, quite a long-standing subject of debate, that a Hungarian house of culture should be run in Budapest and Bucharest [as heard].

[Kalcsar] A cultural institute?

[Grosz] Well, it is not certain that this is an institute. This started off as a house and then it might become an institute.

[Bangos] A house of Romanian culture used to exist.

[Grosz] This is how it began on other occasions as well, previously. The house of Soviet culture did not begin as a house of culture, and later it grew into a serious institute. So they have a stance of principle on this as well, namely that they do not set anything up anywhere around the globe, so others should not set them up, either, on Romanian territory. This is a stance of principle, and this must be acknowledged. We cannot do anything about it.

[Kulcsar] Comrade Grosz, you have mentioned at the press conference in Arad that international questions were also raised: The question of joint action, European questions. Was the question also raised of how the two countries should work together at the Vienna follow-up conference, or what Romania's stance is? There are reports that the Romanian stance is slowing down or delaying the establishment of a consensus and agreement.

[Grosz] This is a fairly sober characterization of this stance. We naturally discussed this, but we did not harmonize our stances here. This was not the purpose of this meeting. According to the Romanian comrades, they feel their stance on the disputed question is correct, both in principle and in practice, and they cannot accept the stance of others. If I understood correctly what my negotiating partner was saying, then they will not yield on this. But I have to admit honestly that we devoted the smallest portion of these nearly 8-hour talks to international questions. We devoted most of our time to bilateral ties; then we exchanged information on topical questions of domestic politics, the parties' internal lives, the political situation. International questions would have followed these, but very little time was left for that.

[Rangos] Were there any sensitive points in the talks when you felt that we could not reach any kind of agreement, and when this was expressed more sharply than customary at such talks?

[Grosz] Yes, there were. We have different judgments, for instance, on freedom of the press, on the forms of citizens' expressions of opinions, such as demonstrations.

[Kulcsar] Were we reproached because of this?

[Grosz] We received reproaches; we received questions, advice, all these things together.

[Kulcsar] And the continuation, Comrade Grosz? Did you come to any concrete agreement about the continuation?

[Grosz] Well, we will now take a good look, one after the other, at the concrete questions which I have already spoken about, and there are others, such as the development of tourism. This is a big issue. There have been times when 1.5 million, 1.6 million Hungarian tourists visited in 1 year. We are now back at 1 million again, which is the result of a development. This year Romanian tourists will number between 400,000 and 450,000 in Hungary. We have now mutually decided to create more favorable conditions for tourism.

[Rangos] Border crossing, for instance?

[Grosz] Yes, we have mentioned that as well, but there is more to tourism than whether NEPSZABADSAG is confiscated at the border or not. This implies more, although I have heard from colleagues at the border guards that in recent days the partners' treatment of Hungarian tourists has been extremely attentive and pleasant. So this means more. It must be institutionally organized. Obviously a working group must be sent out. In our country the Trade Ministry deals with this. I think there is a separate institution here. They will send out their experts and examine how organized and unorganized, individual tourism can be developed. In other words, where we go from here depends on the nature and characteristics of the concrete questions.

As for bilateral relations, I suggested that we should meet at a high level in 1989, and that we should put into words—this applies to both parties, if it is at party level, or to the two parties and governments if it is at a party and government level—the principles of our policies on nationalities. If necessary, then there should be prior to this another bilateral working meeting between the two general secretaries. This should be preceded, if necessary, by meetings between Central Committee secretaries or department heads. So, we believe that there should be lively cooperation, dialogue. Today has been a great experience for me, partly from the point of view that we Hungarians are not familiar with many things or do not know them well. In many quesitons there is more supposition than objective fact, and this is what we build on. I feel the same applies ito the other side.

But we cannot change this situation by not talking to each other or by just sending messages. So, I stated very unequivocally and categorically my suggestion that we should expand our relations, as the necessity arises, as life demands, and on the appropriate level. We should meet and talk. There is no need for a ceremony, no need for protocol. What is needed is to express thoughts and to become acquainted with thoughts. It is natural that these meetings are not without problems. It cannot be expected that we should sit down nicely, praise each other, and then everyone stands up, shakes hands, and then goes home. There is no sense in this. We must sit down and discuss disputed questions, and obviously our partners, like ourselves, are convinced that the stance adopted is the right one. So, arguments must be listed. So, this is real work, even if it is not appreciated as it should be everywhere.

[Rangos] So do you think that a new era can be predicted in Romanian-Hungarian relations?

[Grosz] I do not like the word era. I have lived through so many eras.

[Rangos] Shall I say stage then?

[Grosz] That is still too much for me. All I can say is that I believe today's meeting has contributed to strengthening bilateral ties. I am also convinced that this meeting may perhaps be a very tiny, modest contribution to the international detente process which has unfolded in the world and which is also much needed in Europe. It must be further developed. We shall see the rest.

[Rangos] While you were preoccupied with drafting the joint communique, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, laid a wreath at the monument to the Arad martyrs. I would like to bid farewell with these pictures. Thank you for the interview. [Grosz] Thank you.

Talks Summarized

LD2908083888 Budapest MTI in English
0100 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—On 28 August, 1988 at Arad on the grounds of joint understanding a working meeting was held between Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and premier and Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

At the negotiations the following people were present: On the Hungarian side Matyas Szuros, HSWP CC secretary, Laszlo Major, head of the HSWP CC Bureau, Imre Szokai, deputy head of department of the HSWP CC, Pal Szuts, the ambassador of Hungary to Bucharest and other officials. On the Romanian side Ion Stoian, alternatve member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP CC secretary, Silviu Curticeanu, RCP CC secretary, Constantin Mitea, deputy head of department of the RCP CC, Nicolae Mitea, deputy head of department of the RCP CC, Traian Girba, chairman of the National Union of Cooperative Farms, and Traian Pop, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The two party leaders mutually informed one another on the contemporary tasks of the construction of socialism in their countries and pursued wide-ranging exchange of ideas on Hungarian-Romanian cooperation, friendly and good neighbourly relations and some issues of the international situation.

At the working-type discussions held in a constructive atmosphere they emphasized their common desire to explore the means of strengthening the cooperation between the two parties and the two people and to work to resolve the problems in the Hungarian-Romanian relations and for the further strengthening of the friendly and good neighbourly relations. They underlined that this meets the interests of the Hungarian and Romanian people, the construction of the new social order, the increase of the level of well-being and civilization, and active cooperation for socialism and peace. They emphasized the strengthening of friendship and importance of contacts and exchange of opinions serving the development of bilateral cooperation.

They pointed out: The two countries' continuously increasing economic and technical-scientific potential and the results achieved in the economic cooperation create favourable conditions or the widening of economic exchanges, production cooperation and specialization.

They expressed the determination of both Hungary and Romania to develop the cultural, scientific and tourist links, and the exchange of delegations—including the press. All these serves the better mutual familiarization and the promotion of understanding and friendship between the two peoples and the two countries.

During the discussions they underlined that the strengthening of the Hungarian-Romanian contacts helping the economic and social development of the two countries and people means a contribution to the cause of the European and world peace.

The two general secretaries emphasized the need to meet in the future on all occasions when this is substantiated by the discussion of issues deserving common interests.

At the meeting Nicolae Ceausescu gave a gala luncheon in honour of Karoly Grosz. At the luncheon the general secretaries in their toasts praised Hungarian-Romanian friendship urging the strengthening of cooperation.

Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the conviction that the present high level meeting and discussions mean an important event in the future development of bilateral links, in the strengthening of friendship and good neighbourly relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania, the HSWP and the RCP, and the Hungarian and Romanian people.

The discussions were held in an open, frank atmosphere with mutual respect.

During the meeting Matyas Szuros, HSWP CC secretary and Pal Szuts, ambassador of Hungary to Bucharest laid a wreath with the national tricolor at the memorial of the Martyrs of Arad.

Karoly Grosz returned to Hungary late evening.

Protesters March on Romanian Mission in Bern

LD2708211588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] In Bern, at the appeal of the Federation of Hungarian Associations in Switzerland, several thousand people held a demonstration against the Romanian village-liquidation program. The protesters, who for the most part wore mourning dress, first assembled in front of the building of the Swiss legislature and government. Then they proceeded to the Romanian mission in Bern. The demonstrators called on the Swiss Government to protest today's official Bucharest policy.

More on Visit of Afghanistan's Minister Wakil

Begins Talks With Varkonyi

LD2608173988 Budapest MTI in English 0745 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, who arrived in Hungary on Thursday on the invitation of Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, laid a wreath on the memorial of Hungarian heroes at the Heroes Square.

Then talks started between 'Abdul Wakil and Peter Varkonyi at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Varkonyi, Wakil Sign Culture Accord

LD2608174788 Budapest MTI in English 1525 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—As reported earlier, foreign ministers Peter Varkonyi of Hungary and 'Abdul Wakil of Afghanistan began their talks in Budapest on Friday. The discussions focussed on topical international affairs.

'Abdul Wakil thanked for Hungary's political and diplomatic support provided at international forums for the soonest possible settlement of the Afghan issue.

'Abdul Wakil described the contractual relations of the two countries as working well, and asked that Hungary, commensurate with its possibilities, should continue to support industrial development in Afghanistan. 'Abdul Wakil appreciated bilateral trade turnover which almost doubled this year. The Afghan foreign minister proposed to broaden economic relations by setting up joint ventures of Hungarian enterprises and private Afghan companies.

The Afghan foreign minister expressed thanks for the training of Afghan students in Hungarian universities and high schools.

Discussing the domestic policy situation of Afghanistan, 'Abdul Wakil said that major political changes were under way in the life of the people of Afghanistan. The leadership of the country clearly declared its aim to achieve national reconciliation and settle the situation with peaceful means. The new Constitution also reflected the government's intention to establish a multiparty parliamentary republic, the official religion of which would be the Islam, and declared that the interests of all tribes and ethnic groups would be taken into account.

'Abdul Wakil appreciated the new international trends emerging as a result of the Soviet foreign policy, and the importance of agreements on disarmament and the elimination of regional hotbeds of tension.

Peter Varkonyi told [as received] that Hungary followed with sincere interest and highly regarded the efforts done for national reconciliation in Afghanistan. Its accomplishment is being supported by diplomatic and political means. Peter Varkonyi emphasized that Hungary finds it very important for all parties to the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan to implement with strict consistence the contents of the documents. This could be an example of model value in the solution of other conflicts in the world.

'Abdul Wakil invited Peter Varkonyi to an official visit to the Republic of Afghanistan. The head of the Hungarian diplomacy accepted the invitation.

Following the foreign ministerial talks 'Abdul Wakil and Peter Varkonyi signed a cultural exchange programme for the years 1988-1990.

Straub, Medgyessy Talk With Wakil

LD2608202688 Budapest MTI in English
1728 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, met 'Abdul Wakil, foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, in Budapest on Friday.

Bruno F. Straub said that the Hungarian general public followed the settlement of the Afghan issue with keen attention. He expressed the general hope that the policy of national reconciliation, taking the interests of the broad strata of Afghan society into account, would succeed. The Hungarian People's Republic takes a stand for the consistent implementation of the Geneva agreements and, commensurate with its possibilities, provides far-reaching support for it.

'Abdul Wakil spoke about the current difficult situation of his country, and about the concrete steps of the Afghan Government to put an end to the civil war. He said that, correcting the faults of the previous policy, the Afghan leadership considers the historical, social and religious traditions of the country so as to establish internal reconciliation and reconstruct the state and social foundations.

The cordial meeting was attended by Peter Varkonyi and Assadullah Keshtmand.

In his talks with the Afghan foreign minister Peter Medgyessy pointed out that the settlement of the Afghan issue would greatly promote the stability of peace and security in the region and the whole world. Surveying bilateral relations, Peter Medgyessy emphasized Hungary's interest in deepening reciprocally beneficial economic relations, and establishing and strengthening cooperation between Hungarian enterprises and Afghan state-owned and private firms.

The Afghan foreign minister gave briefs on the consequences of the ten-year war and the social and political endeavours of the government. He stressed that the Afghan Government was invariably prepared to hold a political dialogue and cooperate on a coalitional basis with all external and internal Afghan forces. It is a vital interest of the nation to create national reconciliation, implement the Geneva agreement and guarantee peace in Afghanistan and its region. 'Abdul Wakil said.

The meeting was attended by deputy foreign minister Gabor Nagy and Ambassador Assadullah Keshtmand.

Afghan Foreign Minister Departs

LD2708164188 Budapest MTI in English
1545 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—The foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, 'Abdul Wakil, who at the invitation of Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Varkonyi made an official visit in Hungary, left Budapest on Saturday. At the Ferihegy airport the head of the Afghan diplomacy was seen off by Peter Varkonyi.

TV Interviews Poland's Rakowski on Strikes

LD2808201988 Budapest MTI in English
1803 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—The weekly political magazine "HET" (WEEK) of the Hungarian Television featured an interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Political Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party's Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

To a question as how deep the present crisis in Poland is, the Polish politician replied:

'It is a rather grave crisis and should not be underestimated. In my view we should take the present social and political situation of Poland very seriously. There is no doubt that in our country discontent is widespread due to the economic policy of recent years. This February for instance we carried out the 'price and wage surgery' which resulted in high inflation and now people see day by day their situation deteriorating.'

Q: That means that only inflation and shortages are the cause of the discontent of the Polish people?

Rakowski: 'There is no doubt that the basic reason of the strikes is the bad economic situation of the masses. This has made the organization of the strikes easier. If people had been sure that the economic reforms would improve their living conditions then the organizers could not had achieved the development of this situation. [quotation marks as received]

Q: If I consider the economic policy and the directions of the economic development as a whole then what is the situation?

Rakowski: 'The answer applies to all socialist countries, but at the moment I specifically have Poland in mind. The period of the economic and social structures of the past forty years, from the old economic control concepts to the creation of the new, is a transition period which could last for years. Secondly, it cannot all be accomplised without a price. But the man of the street, the everyday man is not interested in that. He simply expects the leaders to clear up the errors and he, as soon as possible, even if not into the happy world of heaven, should reach such circumstances, which do not give him a headache how to survive from one day to the other. In my view the major accepted economic policy targets in Poland are correct. Of course, a lot of other questions still have to be discussed. Such as, for instance, whether the economic reforms were and are implemented consistently in Poland. In my view it has undoubtedly been proved that the accomplished economic policy is inadequate, not satisfactory, and has to be changed. [quote marks as received]

More on Aftermath of Miners' Strikes

Daily Comments

LD2608165788 Budapest MTI in English
1413 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—"We did not want to give a political character to our action, but we wanted to call attention to our problems," quotes Friday's "NEPSZABADSAG" the statement of the delegates of the Pecs mining plant at the Hungarian Union of Mineworkers. "However, the events at the Stephen shaft of the Mecsek collieries have a political significance, also because the strike or work stoppage as they call it, this method of interest enforcement has not been encountered by Hungarian public opinion over the past decades (although there have been unpublished 'isolated' occurrances)." [sentence as received]

The newspaper recalls that the direct cause of the action was the announcement of the sums of the miner's day fidelity bonuses which were considerably lower than last year. Looking back on earlier antecedents, "NEPSZABADSAG" states: It was clear already in the beginning of the year that the net amount of the bonuses will be smaller because of the new personal income tax. In some places, where the sum of bonuses was raised, there was no problem whatsoever. In other places, however, such as the Mecsek collieries, not the bonus was complemented, in agreement with the trade unions and the workers, but the basic wages were increased, and thus the total sum of wage and bonus corresponded to last year's. [sentence as received] Yet the miners did not expect the lower bonus.

"It would already be difficult to say whether the agreement was not so perfect or the explanation of the decision so clear," says the newspaper, adding that the some of the factors influencing the size of the fidelity bonus have also changed from last year: In Mecsek the front cutting performances were 5 per cent smaller this year, and the day-off output also dropped by 50 per cent, because it is profitable neither for the mine nor for the miners. The miners receive less money for day-off work because of the tax reform, but the decline in day-off production is "not a problem but an advantage". In the mines, which work with high production costs, extra work is more expensive than the average, regular extra work is disarranging the organization of mining work and is harmful to health." [sentence as received]

As far as the lessons are concerned, the first thing to be considered is who and how much is responsible for the internal affair of a company becoming an issue of concern to the government, the domestic and foreign press. If the managers of the company and the local party and trade union secretary are in control of the situation, it would have been relatively simple to settle the problem. Nevertheless, they proved unable to convince the workers again of what they had already accepted in the beginning of the year, namely the countering of the reduced fidelity bonus by wage rise. This is how the demands, which should have been handled within the company, were forwarded to the government. Indeed, what finally the government did was not to prevent the company from taking up credit for supplementing the fidelity bonus, a credit which has to be repaid.

"However, all this does not mean that the causes of the Pecs miners' strike are to be found only at the Mecsek company," the newspaper states. "The consequence of the tax reform, the reduction of the fidelity bonus were the last drops in a glass filled to the top by the ambiguous decisions taken in the mining sector over the past ten years. Although the government organs have repeatedly dealt with the situation of coal mining, their decisions could make mining operative temporarily, and the conditions for long-term stability have not been created.

"A consistent assessment can only be expected from the implementation of the latest decision of the committee of economic planning, which relieved the mining companies of the supply responsibility and set the demand of economicalness to the centre of their work.

"So the uniform settlement has been carried out and the long-term economic conditions created, and should the demands of the Pecs miners still include such a requirement, this is one, and not the only, sign of failure to bring about consensus related to settlement. True, the settlement does not equally affect the companies. According to preliminary analyses, their majority will be able to stand their ground even after next year's producer price rises and the withdrawal of subsidies, but three companies—Tatabanya, Nograd and Mecsek—are unlikely to cope with the increased burdens. All this will lead to conflicts which understandably give rise to anxiety at the concerned companies and in the entire mining sector.

"In connection with the events, there are two as yet unanswered questions: To what extent do the blameless workers have to bear the consequences of the delayed decisions and the resultant situation. But: Is it right for workers of a company in need of reconstruction and state support to keep afloat to refuse to accept any sacrifice? Answering these questions holds a lesson for not only Mecsek and the mining sector," says "NEPSZABADSAG".

Nemeth Says Workers Not Consulted Properly

LD2708160288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Miklos Nemeth, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, has commented on the 1-day strike at the Mecsek coal mines in an interview with correspondent Janos Szilagyi:

[Begin recording] [Nemeth] The Mecsek affair shows that in reality some internal matters of an enterprise—enterprise decisions since January, let us say, to stay with the Mecsek example—may not have been given the publicity and the workers may not have been brought into the decisions the way they should have been. Hence, problems crop up within minutes. These must not be handled directly by the government, and not even by a ministry.

[Szilagyi] So why did the government start handling this matter? Why did it not say: Let the enterprise sort it out, we are not interested?

[Nemeth] I think the government did the right thing in having a few of its representatives deal with the workers' representatives who had been sent up. The government established that a decision had to be made within a short time to calm the mood, starting from the premise that this question should not escalate and it should not follow the Polish example or resemble a Prague demonstration. The situation in Hungary is not such that we should join this parade.

From this point, this question has international significance. These events show that certain questions in important areas of our lives are not regulated. In the given situation, we do not know what is legal. Now that we are moving toward constitutionalism and living, so to speak, within the framework of the laws laid down by parliament, and as the conditions for this come into existence with the enactment of laws, I think these escalating events will be forced into a legal framework. We must also accept that only when all these things have been exhausted can one resort to a strike. [end recording]

Mecsek Miners on Making Up Time

LD2708153688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Mecsek miners are working extra shifts today and tomorrow to make up for lost production caused by Wednesday's strike. More than 1,500 miners will descend over 2 days to bring 3,000 tonnes of coal to the surface. This quantity is about 500 tonnes more than the amount lost as a result of the strike.

Official on Giving Lost Wages to Strikers

LD2708161588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] In connection with the strike by Mecsek miners, the question has been raised whether workers on strike could receive lost wages—from the trade unions supporting the action, for instance. Will the National Council of Trade Unions set up such a relief fund? This question was asked by Eva Sos to department head Peter Fahn:

[Begin recording] [Fahn] This question has not yet been before a leading body. The trade union's budget must be examined, and a certain portion of it must be devoted to helping—at an enterprise, branch, or even national level—workers who are compelled to strike.

[Sos] Will strike benefits come from trade union dues?

[Fahn] This is quite obvious. When I spoke about the trade union budget, I was referring primarily to the reorganization of the trade union funds derived from membership dues. I am thinking, for instance, of enterprise trade unions. They must decide responsibly whether it is important for them to support strikers if a strike does take place.

[Sos] Do you think it conceivable that some enterprises will not set up a strike fund?

[Fahn] Of course.

[Sos] Will this not bring about a new conflict among trade union members, where someone might say: I am getting less money for my vacation because they are helping the strikers?

[Fahn] We will not be able to avoid conflicts. I can also imagine a situation in which it emerges, at the end of the strike, that the enterprise's deeds or lack of deeds were illegal; in this case, the enterprise, the employer, can also be forced to contribute to the workers' wages for the time they did not work.

[Sos] What will you call the strike fund?

[Fahn] We may call it a solidarity fund [szolidaritasi alap], but it could also be called a mutual support fund. In any case, we want it to operate as a fund. We consider strikes as the last, exceptional resort. So the strike must be preceded by a strict process of many-sided harmonization, and only when all this proves fruitless can the decision for a strike be made. [end recording]

Workers Protest Factory Director Reappointment

LD2708161088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Workers of the Kner press at Gyomaendroed yesterday staged a work stoppage in protest of the reappointment of their previous director. Eva Cseh visited the factory;

[Begin recording] [Cseh] I think, (Pal Haromszeki), managing director of the Kner press, you have two directors, and one would be enough.

[(Haromszeki)] It is true that at the moment I have two directors.

[Cseh] In January you suspended Gyula Lakatos from his job because he came under police investigation.

[(Haromszeki)] That is correct. He has not worked since then. In the meantime, police investigations and an investigation by the prosecutor's office are in progress.

[Cseh] He did not accept this decision. After an employment tribunal he turned to the employment court of Bekes County, which reinstated him in his job.

[(Haromszeki)] I do not want to criticize the decision of the employment court, but I do not think it was well-founded.

[Cseh] On 15 August you appointed Imre Szasz as director of the Gyomaendroed plant. He used to work there, and it seems people there like him and are attached to him.

[(Haromszeki)] That is correct. When, on Friday, Gyula Lakatos was reinstated in his job, I sent Lakatos on leave.

[Cseh] However, he went into the plant, and it appears that the workers agreed with you, because they stopped work.

[(Haromszeki)] There cannot be two directors at one place. I think I shall suggest another job to Lakatos, but I am glad that the workers expressed their opinion in this—or any other—form. But even if this had not happened, I would not have been able to agree to Gyula Lakatos remaining in Gyomaendroed.

Jaruzelski Opens 8th PZPR Plenary Meeting 27 Aug

*LD2708091888 Warsaw PAP in English
0833 GMT 27 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—The 8th plenary meeting of the PUWP CC devoted to the evaluation of the socio-political and economic situation in the country and current tasks of the party started here today.

The meeting was opened by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski who stated, among other things, that the current plenum is taking place in a difficult, full of tension period.

Jaruzelski stressed that the topic of the meeting is not dictated by the current state of developments. The 8th Plenary meeting of the PUWP CC is a continuation and deepening of the topics reviewed by the 7th CC PLenum two-and-a-half months ago.

Jaruzelski Gives Opening Speech

*LD2708100088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0800 GMT 27 Aug 88*

[Text] The deliberations of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum have begun in Warsaw. Here is our correspondent:

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] Polish Radio correspondent in the Central Committee building. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, opened the Eighth Central Committee Plenum meeting. He stated, among other things:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] The present plenum is taking place in a difficult period, full of tensions. This influenced the acceleration of its being convened. However, the subjected of our deliberations is not dictated by the current events and moods. The situation is complicated, but we have not lost control of it even for a moment. We are reacting and will react as the needs and conditions require. The security and stability of the Polish socialist state cannot and will not be exposed to [word indistinct].

We announced earlier that the eighth plenum would be a continued, deeper study of the problems discussed at the seventh plenum, supplemented with information on the implementation of past resolutions. The problems being taken up today are a result of these assumptions, but today, naturally, the complexity of the present situation weighs on them. It is difficult to overestimate the material, political, and moral losses that the strikes, which are now dying out, will bring in their wake. Their multifarious results will be felt for a long time.

It is our duty to examine economic, political, and social causes forming nourishment for the strike ringleaders, to carry out an honest and fundamental examination of various neglects and delays without any (?languor) or arrogance, everything which causes delay, which injures the feeling of justice and human dignity. One needs to appreciate and express deep respect for the huge majority of the working class, for society, who, not succumbing to various perfidious inspirations, who, with their daily toils, have served and continue to serve the country well. In sum, we must draw the necessary conclusions and ensure their decisive implementation.

The situation with which we are dealing causes obvious discussion within in the party, gives rise to questions, doubts and (?perplexities), and to the urgent search for solutions. It is also worth emphasizing, with deep satisfaction—different to past experiences—that no party member has tarnished himself as a political renegade.

However, there have been, and still are, comrades whose nerves have not been strong enough. They should leave (?their posts) quickly. Also, anxiety and concern pervade our entire society. We receive a growing number of letters from party organizations, from trade union and youth organizations, from labor veterans, and from citizens who are members or who are not members of the party: They express varied expectations as regards the deliberations of the eighth plenum. The bulk of these are justified. We have to do something about them. The emotions connected with them are also understandable. We are all living [words indistinct], and often they take over from a sober and realistic analysis and do not take into account that barely 2 and ½ months have passed since the seventh plenum, and that therefore it is difficult to expect that the implementation of its resolutions will already be clearly felt. Of course, this does not alter the fact that the holiday [word indistinct] has demobilized and dulled the senses of many comrades, both in the party and the administration, as regards the existing shortcomings and dangers. Surprise at the situation is thus also proof of either poor discernment or—even worse—lack of concern.

Thus it is the aim of the plenum to carry out a critical and self-critical, clear, penetrating, and genuine analysis of the reasons for social tension, and to carry out an assessment of the political situation and of the political and economic dangers. Reports of the Central Committee Politburo will promote the discussion around this main goal—reports on the socioeconomic situation and the directions of its (?implementation), on the assessment of the political situation, and of topical problems of the political system.

We want to draw up a program of economic measures to make possible the removal, in the short term, of the feeling of threat to people's daily life, as well as improved market stability, a slowdown in the mad race between prices and wages. Thisa program, in the longer term, will lead to a lasting improvement in the economy and to political measures which, on the basis of respect for the law and constitutional order, will boldly extend the social base of government and will accelerate understanding between and consoldiation of all constructive and responsible forces of society in activities for the good of the nation and state. This is the main aim of our session.

Comrades, to put it briefly, a bold (?step) in the methods and tempo of action, and a reaching out for new measures without endangering, just strengthening and continuing, the supreme principles of the political line of the party elaborated at the 9th and 10th congresses and developed at the recent seventh Party Central Committee Plenum—this is what is required.

The point is, speaking [word indistinct], that the continuation should be reversed. This is not an easy task. It requires careful thought, but above all boldness—boldness in breaking down long-standing stereotypes, obstacles and barriers; boldness in making use of new and unconventional, but above all, effective measures; boldness in making requirements more stringent and in carrying out these requirements at all levels. It is the political duty of the Central Committee to make (?important) decisions which are in accordance with the interests of the working class and the nation, and to fight for their bold implementation. These are tasks of exceptional importance and urgency.

[Announcer] That was Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech delivered at the beginning of the deliberations of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Czyrek Calls For 'Bold Decisions'

LD2708192488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1118 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Speech by Josef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, at 29 August PZPR Central Committee plenum—recorded]

[Text] The plenum is debating at a special moment. Awareness of the seriousness of the situation and a conviction that there is no other way to solve it other than through bold decisions and action is widespread. We will not solve Polish problems through skin-deep or ineffective negation and debilitating strike blackmail.

Comrade Baka has outlined the socio-economic sources of the present situation as well as the necessary steps to master it. These are of decisive importance. However, as experience shows, economic and political reforms are closely interwoven, they support and determine each other.

We know the direction of necessary transformations. We have charted it out at the 10th congress, in the resolutions of our consecutive plenary sessions and especially the 6th and 7th CC plenum. We have already done much in the implementation of their decisions. We have entered the institution of referendum to the practice of political life. We have democratized the electoral law. People's councils have won new powers. We have deepened the policy of dialogue and national agreement.

The line of the socialist renewal of sociopolitical and economic life is an expression of objective necessities and challenges. One cannot avoid these or hope that they go away in time. There will be no backing away from the line of socialist renewal of socio-political and economic life.

One must, nonetheless, self-critically state that we have not accomplished progress in many fields. Slowness in implementation and insufficient effectiveness encounter social impatience. The forces of destruction, including anti-socialist ones, make use of this. Regardless of the reasons for the illegal strikes, they have an anarchy-generating, destructive character. They cannot be accepted. The Politburo formulated a preliminary assessment of the strikes in the communique on its latest session. This assessment is also contained in the stances of the allied parties and in the resolution of the Executive Committee of the OPZZ. At the heart of these assessments lies the statement that even the most difficult problems can and must be resolved through dialogue and agreement. We are faithful to this teaching flowing from our history, including the most recent.

The August agreements were signed eight years ago. At that time they provided a great chance for not only defusing a sharp conflict but also rounding together forces in the solution of many swollen social problems. It is not the fault of our party that this chance was not used at that time. We put into effect all the decisions of the August agreements which were possible to execute. We drew far-reaching conclusions from an assessment of the workers' protest in the program of the 9th congress.

We, however encountered not cooperation but a blockade of anti-crisis efforts, a striving for confrontation. Also this experience cannot be erased from social memory.

The idea of dialogue and agreement which lay at the foundation of the August agreements remains, nevertheless, a lasting principle of our country.

The strike action, both the April-May and the present one was started at a moment when the idea of a proreformative coalition was born in the development of the policy of agreement. It stirred lively interest both in the party and in many milieus, including those with opposition leanings. Prospects for serious dialogue began to take shape.

The social atmosphere as well as the talks held recently showed that the awareness of the need for national agreement is today greater than ever before. A rapprochement of views on the challenges and threats as well as their causes is tangible.

Independently of multifarious intentions of the organizers and participants of the strikes, they objectively aim against the painstakingly achieved cause of dialogue and agreement. One could even say that the premises of another coalition are being born in the strike frenzy—a coalition of anti-reformative forces, anarchist-destructive and bureaucratic-conservative. They are tied by a negation of socialist renewal and attempts to capitalize on its difficulties and failures.

Time is running out for us. The longer the perspective of a comprehensive agreement is deferred, the higher will be the costs of solving Poland's problems, the price of [word indistinct] will rise.

We want to shape the agreement around the program of reforms on the broadest possible foundations, to cover whole socioprofessional groups with it, especially the working class, peasants, the basic layers of the intelligentsia, among them teachers and physicians, where justified embitterment and unrest have been mounting for long.

We attach great importance to the views of opinion-forming milieus, both those associated with the party and its allies, the milieus of other orientations.

Let us repeat once again after the 7th plenum: The party proceeds from the stance of respecting the political consequences of the diversity of interests, views and orientations in our society. In other words, Polish socialist pluralism.

It does not aspire to monopoly in either wisdom or authority. We will also not agree with confrontational pluralism. The one we are seeking is honest respect of motivations stemming from various interests, stances and world outlooks but also goals which are shared and rules of the game which are loyally respected, rules assuming a readiness for dialogue and agreement.

In fulfilling a leading, guiding role and a role of service, the PZPR partakes in party coalition with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party with the participation of associations of lay Catholicy, Christians, this coalition will develop and strengthen through a system of allied parties in managing the affairs of the state, in making the most important decisions pertaining to the future of the country through qualitatively enriched cooperation and co-responsibility.

The PRON has played an important role in the political life of recent years. It was formed in difficult conditions and has earned respect. At the present moment we need to work out a formula of PRON corresponding to the new situation. We think that a reformed PRON could contribute its achievements and initiatives to the newly created coalition of reformative forces.

On the road of the development of agreement we discern the important role of the Roman-Catholic Church. We appreciate and respect its stand, characterized by a feeling of responsibility for the state of affairs of the country.

We are carrying out deep transformation in the political system and the way of exercising power. Government by the people and the broadest participation of citizens in governing remains the principle of principles. We have bet on self-management and self-government as the key direction of the development socialist democracy in Poland.

We are building the Polish model of democratic, humanistic socialism.

The current term of the Sejm is drawing to an end. Its new composition should reflect the pluralist character of our society more fully. We speak in favor of it being an expression of a broad coalition of reforms and renewal. We are ready, in dialogue with all forces standing on the grounds of the provisions of the political system and the Polish national interest to work on a joint electoral program which would be a platform of agreement in matters of utmost importance for the nation.

One could ponder the idea of creating a council of national agreement to work out this platform. The council could be set up as a result of roundtable debates of representatives of various social forces. This is because we have good experience in arriving at common ideas in the activity of the consultative council to the president of the Council of State which has contributed greatly to a deepening of dialogue and strengthening of the of the idea of agreement.

The council of national agreement could also review the directions of changes in the electoral law and the matter of a second chamber of the new parliament, and also—in line with the postulate the Democratic Party—the creation of the office of president of the Republic.

The recent events have put the matter of the trade union movement on the agenda. In Poland, the working class needs strong, active trade unions, a trustworthy defender of the professional and social interests of the employees, a partner of the authorities. We are counting on their contribution to implementing the reform, to the struggle for economic efficiency.

We must ask ourseslves at the same time whether we, as the party, have lent sufficient support to the trade unions in their rightful, as it frequently turned out, stance. At times we lacked the determination to implement the strategic line formulated at the tenth Central Committee plenum in October 1982.

I will recall that at the union congress, 2 years ago, Wojciech Jaruzelski, the first secretary of the Central Committee, said—I quote—the existence of independent, self-governing trade unions is not for us a matter of the moment, responsive to demand. We know from the past the sad effect of limiting their rights, taking them under command, depriving them of their own voices. Strong socialist trade unions, the largest class organization of the world of working people, are the indispensible stabilizers of the people's state—unquote.

The statutes of the active trade unions ensure a place for employees coming from various currents of the trade union movement, including former Solidarity, for people of different political convictions and world outlooks. The only condition is that their goal be the good of the working people, the prosperity of their plants and their country. This supreme goal must also be held in conflict situations.

As is known, the problem of trade union pluralism emerged in 1980-1981. The authorities of the people's state agreed then to the postulate of pluralism, assuming that the organizers of Solidarnosc really meant a trade union. Unfortunate, this experiment ended badly both for trade union movement and for Poland. Devastating strikes, disintegration of the economy, universal deterioration of living standards showed the negative effects of introducing political struggle into factories.

New ideas promoting the development of a model of Polish trade union movement are appearing now. We think that they should be discussed on a trade union plane expanded with interested paries and opinions.

Mention should be made of some trade unionists' proposals that if employees of any factory do not like the work of the existing trade union, they have no obstacles legally to change its program, personnel composition and style of work....

We will support every programmatic offer that meets the working people's interests and strivings halfway. However,, as the party, we are and will be against all solutions that would lead to the revival of political conflicts in factories.

These experiences must not be forgotten. Employees' self-management needs to be firmly strengthened. Concern is aroused by distrust and reserve toward self-management shown by part of the administration and, unfortunately, by some party and trade union activists. Self-management is still often looked at as a rival. It is bad that self-management is entirely absent from whole branches or exists in a limited form there, as in the coal industry. Some postulates forwarded during the latest strikes in mines are linked to the absence of a full self-management structure.

That is why, together with the strengthening of the economic independence of mines, it is appropriate to create conditions for the creation of workforce self-management bodies in mining enterprises.

Unsolved problems of entire sections of great social significance are one of the important causes of citizens' dissatisfaction.

The difficulties of health service, requiring special care, are well-known. There are many of them and they range from the problems of wages, supplies of medicines and means of hygiene to long-term delays in the construction of hospitals or the dramatically poor situation in midwifery. One should also bring to a successful conclusion the restoration of medical associations postulated by the health service sector.

In addition, the educational sector has many problems requiring urgent decisions. We mean not only the current wage rise and devising a new system of salaries for teachers, placing the profession in line with its social importance. We are in favour of starting up all possible means and for supporting initiatives aimed to improve the teachers' working conditions.

We deem progress in democratization and socialization of education indispensable, as part of which teachers, pupils, parents and local interested parties should be treated as partners and a subject of school life.

Strengthening self-management has become one of the important problems in the life of scientific and academic circles. New formal-legal solutions should to a greater extent permit the democratic and concordant coexistence of all member of this community.

We endorse an exceeding of the existing stereotypes of the functioning of scientific milieus.

We think that it is necessary to create greater possibilities for the development of the scientific and social activity of students, to expand their rights of association, with full respect of the constitutional principles taken into account. New legal and organizational solutions which will enable the student community more actively to participate in solving their own matters are indispensable. They should be worked out jointly with students and the authorities of the higher education establishments and urgently implemented.

The party speaks out in favor of decisive action to remove the material and organizational barriers which threaten the normal functioning of higher education.

The engagement of the young generation in the implementation of the process of reforms in Poland is one of the basic conditions of its success. Young people should be in the first rank of the forces of renewal. The lack of progress in solving the acute problems of the life and professional start of the youth is an important cause of the phenomena of frustration in the young generation. We await the firm implementation of adopted programs in housing construction, and are even pondering the possibility of handing over a part of the construction potential to the young people. Why should young people not take over worker hotels, university hostels and cafeterias, boarding houses, clubs, cultural and sports facilities.

Why should bold innovative steps not be taken in this respect. It is also time to respond positively to the proposals of youth unions and hand over some enterprises to them in which there is no chance of improvement without the bold initiative characteristic of the young generation. There is no need to fear that they will not be able to cope, that they will not succeed.

The activity of the youth will only develop in line with this generation's strivings, independence and responsibility. It will become overgrown with organizing initiatives, whose fate need not be certain. But, surely, they will become the source of social experience for young people and will bear fruit with social benefit. There is no other way of preparing for the succeeding generation.

The process of deep qualitative transformations also breeds conflicts and contradictions. They force us—starting with the Political Bureau and ending with the basic party cells—to conduct a honest, self-critical assessment of our own weaknesses. They set the issue of the social credibility of the party on the agenda.

The attitude toward the implementation of the reforms should be the basic criterion of the assessment of PZPR members, especially the managerial cadres. It is the challenge of the times for the party, all its links, in supporting the program of transformations, to be able to popularize its ideas, to defend them, so that they lead and attract others to participation in their implementation.

The recent tensions and strikes in plants once again make one aware of the need to work out a new formula of the political action of the party in conflict situations. A majority of organizations and party activists have passed the test of civil and party responsibility in these days. They talked, listened attentively and consistently, and convinced widely. But there are also party links which are accustomed to arbitrary solutions, acting under the cover of the administration, too slowly regrouping onto tracks of partnership dialogue and political methods of influence, to arriving at compromise in which the party stance need not always automatically prevail.

Party links are not always able to foresee and react to tensions in the factory, to discover their causes and essence, to point to the right solutions and consistently defend them.

A part of the rightful social postulates which have not been sovled for a long time now should have been tackled by party cells, committees and authorities of different levels. And even if we did proceed in this way, this was frequently done too amicably, while too easily giving in to various bureaucratic explanations.

We will not carry out the reform by ourselves. Our party has advocated the need for close ties with nonaligned people for a long time now.

The coming days and weeks will be a touch test for us. The dialogue of the party and its members with the colleagues at work, collectives and respective people cannot stop for one moment, regardless of their attitude to the strikes and the proposals forwarded during them. Why, all of us will remain in Poland, we will live next to each other, be concerned about the common future. A higher culture of social coexistence, new ways of arriving at national consensus are a consequence of this state of affairs. This is an important aim of the party, its every cell, its every member.

It is necesary once again to review the past and current problems of milieus and crews. To tackle these problems with new energy and jointly with them. To begin as soon as possible a campaign of individuals talks, to hold meetings with party teams in people's councils, trade unions and self-governments.

At the seventh plenum, we raised the problem of cadres and stressed that the party's motto is to stake itself on people of reforms, capable of speeding them up, on competence and effectiveness.

As of October 1988, we are changing the procedure of party committees in appointing managerial cadres. We are radically limiting the number of posts covered by political acceptance of the party cells and committees.

Still this year, we should amend and adjust the principles of coalition cooperation in pursuing cadre policy to a broader formula of national agreement;. We come out for the right of all partners to make joint decisions on cadre questions but also for their full joint responsibility.

The work is advanced to eliminate regulations blocking or hampering professional promotion of young and most gifted people from the labour legislation. The cadres training programs are being revised. One should use the method of competitive selection of cadres more broadly and commit institutions and scientific, social, and professional societies and independent experts to competitive procedures to a greater extent.

The new cadres policy, implemented at every level of party activity, must ever more fully become not just an instrument of the party's leading role, but above all an effective drive of economic and political reforms.

Implementing tasks of socialist renewal, we face today a particularly great accumulation of difficult tasks. However, we will not depart from the road marked out by the ninth and 10th congresses. The Polish renewal is part of great changes of the socialist formation confirming its vitality and dynamism, its ability to change the world and to change itself. The renewal is the restoration of sense and meaning to basic values of our system and at the same time deep linking of them to national realities.

Our goals include a system of justice, the dignity of man, the high importance of work, capable of ensuring effective economy and opening up broad space for creative forces and activeness of an individual. Our goal is a system ruled by law and order and democracy, a system where citizens make joint decisions and share responsibility. Our objective is socialist Poland that is strong, modern and capable of keeping pace with the contemporary world.

Further on Czyrek Speech

LD2708103188 Warsaw PAP in English
0941 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—The second report "For the expansion of dialogue and agreement—evaluation of the political situation and the current problems in the development of the political system" was delivered by Political Bureau Member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

Czyrek stressed that common is the awareness of the seriousness of the current situation which calls for bold and firm actions serving further deepening of the process of socialist renewal.

The speaker also stressed that strike actions have arisen in a moment when prospects are shaping for a very serious dialogue.

Further into the report, Czyrek stressed that the party invariably stands on the position of Polish socialist pluralism. However, it will not accept confrontational pluralism.

The PUWP CC secretary also reffered to trade union pluralism, which was born in 1980-81.

Also new ideas are appearing concerning the Polish model of trade union movement. We will support all programmatic offer in this field which will meet half-way the interests of working people. However we will oppose ideas which would give rise to conflicts and aim against of the interests of the working people.

The last tensions and strikes again make us aware of the necessity to work out a new formula of the party's political action in the conflict situations, Jozef Czyrek also said.

Not since today, the party has been proclaiming the need to have close ties with non-party people, he stressed.

In his report, Czyrek paid much attention also to questions of cadres, stressing that the party's motto is to stake on people of reforms capable of speeding them up.

'Excerpts' of Messner Speech

LD2808113788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2208 GMT 27 Aug 88

["Excerpts" of speech by Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 27 August—recorded]

[Text] Irrespective of how we look at these strikes and on what basis they arose, it is obvious that they struck a drastic blow at the economy. The normal course of production was disturbed; losses are rising each day. This (?bears) on the scope of our external (?matters), as does, ultimately, the balance of payments. We can speak today of billions of zloties and millions of dollars. I also think that these strikes truly undermined the authority of Poland on the international scale. Does there exist, can there exist, a political rationale that would justify the motivations behind such costs and losses? Will the attempt at a trial of strength in various matters, associated among other things with the proposals on the case of the national accord proposed by the national authorities, can it be justified? [sentence as heard] Each citizen of People's Poland must reply to every question such as this, but we should also reply.

We took on the tactics with a great sense of responsibility—I say this in the name of the government, but not only in the name of the government; I also think that the comrade general will speak and will say this in the name of the Politburo—great reflection, responsibility, and gradual behavior. On the other hand, I want to state clearly: We as a government exclude, first, the possibilities of payment for the period of the strikes. We stand hard in this area and on the possibilities of covering from the state budget the losses in a given enterprise that were caused by the [word indistinct] Of course, esteemed comrades, all the political motives of the strikes cannot hide for us that I am giving you my honest word; they do not screen for us the economic causes of the bad social mood. We, however, as a government, cannot surrender to emotions in our analysis.

We must carry it out coldly, without any emotions, without any kind of particularism, without dilatoriness, by fully taking into consideration the real economic facts and what the economy is capable of. If our economy is not capable of something, we cannot give promises assuming expansion; we cannot give them even though it would be accepted in the interim as a very good solution. Economic realities, whether we like it or not, comrades, are unequivocal.

In order to understand today's anomalies better it is clearly necessary to go back to that moment when we formulated the fundamental principles of the second stage of the economic reform. From the outset in this second stage it was a question of a radicalization of the program to effect an increase in market supply from all sources, an increase of these goods, and to release the initiative of entrepreneurship of all units—socialized and unsocialized.

We want to achieve the basing of our economy on an economic calculation everywhere, in the home and in the enterprise, and to move toward a situation unlike the one our satirists (?portray). One in particular says that in Poland one in fact earns 20; let him say 20, but he doesn't say that in this country, which he calculates in foreign currency, that according to the same calculation, bread in Poland would cost two cents! He doesn't compare what kind [words indistinct] they are. He looks at it from one side only.

We wanted to consistently work toward the economy being based on a rational economic calculation in all spheres. And that process has been started, but it has come up against disequilibrium and other conditions, and against the mistakes which were made politically—I'll tell you in a moment. [sentence as heard] This has caused distortions and swelling in many cases, and hence the disatisfaction. We made mistakes because we agreed to a compromise, because we didn't bring about that radical solution, and, thus, means were shifted from one place to another. That is the truth. Naturally, we didn't appreciate all the factors that resulted from this. We accept with humility all the criticism. I confess, I do not intend to make others responsible for it, although I could say today who made the calculations, how he calculated, and why and (?how much) he calculated. But that is a matter of doing it in its entirety.

One more question must still be answered. Why didn't we accept, as there was such a suggestion, a deflationary proposition? There was one; it was a quick one, and it was based on prices rising, [words indistinct] by about 16 or 17 percent. If the so-called interim [przechodzace] ones are taken—comrades don't like that, as it is a professional term—from last year, we would have had an inflation rate this year of about 30 percent. But it required consistency in the sphere of the formation of incomes, that is, the holding of everything, and thus not the introduction of a twelfth wage [dwunastka] but even more drastic (?threats): the elimination of all privileges, a departure from the principle of paying the equivalent for allowances in kind, the abolition of allowances in kind, and the abolition of all privileges resulting from charters, or at least their suspension for some time as they assumed an oppressive role on incomes. Because we were aware of the fact that this was unrealistic and politically unworkable, since it would have burst within 2 months, we felt that the inflationary element might, through all these rigors, lead more quickly to a situation of equilibrium. But of course, we have not achieved this. We have to answer for this. We can beat our breasts here saying we are to blame. However, it must be remembered that in all the solutions we have here there exist many contradictory interests from various elements which undermine the consistent implementation of economic laws—I mean those that formed the basis of the second stage of the reform—and not only the second stage but the basis of our reform in general.

In this connection we admit that sometimes for the sake of social calm the government unfortunately acted in an inconsistent manner, made concessions, allowed special reductions here and there, granted opportunities for matters to be settled, and so on. I have to say that the government—every government—has the duty to watch over things and not to give way to all this. This is its weakness; this is the weakness of this government because it is the duty of the government to resolve problems in such a way that economic accounting and efficiency, and thereby the efficiency of the economy, systematically reach equilibrium.

As regards matters concerning the market we have made a whole series of decisions that are designed to increase this supply [not further identified] in the very near future. Comrade Sadowski, among others, spoke about this. Comrade Niewadomski also spoke about these currency matters. With full responsibility I.... [changes thought] The foreign currency that the government generates from increased exports is earmarked above all for increasing output.

Taking into account all the elements that have manifested themselves, the government, relying on, among other things, the report of the Politburo, must prepare and implement immediate recommendations for the near future. But at the same time a start must be made on preparing this program of consolidation. But I wish to draw your attention to the fact this does not mean we shall make a fresh start. After all, we have prepared in full the Central Annual Plan for 1989 and we have the provisions for the Central Annual Plan for 1990. Of course, this will have to be examined again—I mean this plan—from the point of view of elements stemming from the present situation and from today's discussion so as to use it to tidy up the prices and incomes policy.

And finally, comrades, the incorrect exploitation of the powers that the ministry—that the government—has gained has been mentioned frequently here today. I wish to say, of course, that the powers we have only had for, let's say, 2 and ½ months, are being applied wherever possible. But the application of these powers depends on various conditions. Let us take, for example, the matter of the liquidation of enterprises. We have made a decision to liquidate 21 enterprises. In all instances protests were raised—and raised not only by those involved but also by those looking at them from outside. And, among others, these decisions were on the whole ridiculed by various kinds of mass media. The same applies, for example, to the closing down of the Gdansk Shipyard. This was even mentioned here today. Even Comrade Okrasa said at the end: Why aren't you closing down the Gdansk Shipyard?

The government has prepared a plan for the closing down of the Gdansk Shipyard. It has presented it to the shipyard's management; the management was supposed to prepare its counterproposal, and a discussion was to take place at the shipyard on this subject. Of course, in the meantime yesterday's situation came about. It is true, as Comrade Okrasa said, that the shipbuilding industry around the world is being reconstructed or closed down. But, it is also necessary to show why this is taking place—is this taking place because of sluggishness or because of other elements?

Finally, Comrade Trojanowicz mentioned here that during his speech at the fifth plenum he asked me to reorganize the central administration. Well, I'd like to say that after the fifth plenum we did reorganize the central administration. But whatever else you say, you cannot accuse the government of not doing this, of not carrying out a thorough reorganization of the central administration. It, of course, took place over a longer period of time, with various obstacles; there were various opinions; but the truth is the truth.

PAP on Messner Address

LD2808010088 Warsaw PAP in English 2336 GMT 27 Aug 88

["Speech by Zbigniew Messner at 8th PUWP CC Plenum (Excerpts)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 27—I will not come back to discussing the course of strikes, but I want to most emphatically stress their political character.

This is evidenced by not only the main postulates of the strikers, but also the time and place of staging these actions.

The instigators and organizers have resorted, among other things, to economic postulates. A mechanism tested several times has been used: to use the moods of the working people generated undoubtedly by the difficult market situation, by the understandable discontent with everyday hardships.

The economy has been dealt a heavy blow. The course of production has been interrupted. The disorganization of the market has intensified. Direct losses have reached over ten billion zloties, including 11 million dollars. Poland's prestige has suffered considerably. The process of implementing the reforms is being paralyzed.

Can there be any political reasons that would justify inspirations leading to such costs. Can an attempted auction on anti-crisis pact justify hitting at the foundations of the nation's existence.

These questions must be answered by everyone who makes a political analysis of what is going on.

The wave of strikes faces us with a problem of how we should act in this situation. Especially in face of emerging accusations that the authorities are idly watching the accumulation of strikes.

One must not forget that a strike, be it legal or illegal, inspired by an opponent or a spontaneous one, is a form of worker protest.

Three solutions were possible: To break the strikes by force, to meet the postulates or to ease the tensions with no-force methods.

We did not want to use against strikers the means of direct force. As this would threaten the deepening of the divisions in society. This would be an obstacle in the continuation in the process of national agreement. It would make international contacts more difficult.

We did not want and could not meet the forwarded demands because they were put forth in violation of the binding law. A part of the demands are in an obvious way incompatible with the policy of our state. Whereas, the fulfillment of all economic postulates would threaten with another economic breakdown.

An illegal strike should not be paid off by society but by those who violate law. As regards organizers of the strike, the law clearly defines punishment for the violation of its norms. Participants must sense the effects of the work and production stoppages in their earnings.

Political motives of the ongoing strikes must not be overshadowed by the economic reasons of bad social moods.

The government must not surrender to emotions while analyzing them. It must review them soberly without any particulars, without dilatoriness giving full regard to the real economic facts.

These in turn—whether we want it or not—are unequivocal. The meeting, like in the year 1980, of pay demands which have no coverage in larger production and supplies, might allow the situation to calm down for a month or 2. Then, however, nothing would prevent the total demolition of the economy.

The key to understanding moods is in the money market situation.

It is defined by interrelations between the value of commodity supplies and the scale of incomes. Recently, they have reached a critical point.

To better understand the sources of present anomalies, it is necessary to go back to the time when the basic principles of the 2nd stage of the economic reform were formulated.

From the very beginning radical transformations were called for: increasing the amounts of goods on the market, and releasing initiative and enterprises of all economic units and citizens.

Reaching these goals however required that the cost/effect calculation be placed on genuine premises.

Satirists make jokes that average pay in Poland is 20 dollars. But they fail to add that, in the same calculation, the price of bread here is 2 cents.

Passage to wages reflecting the actual value of labor unconditionally requires also that the prices must be not abstract and (artificially) lowered. Otherwise it will be difficult to speak of reinforcing the currency or of limiting the other market—profiteering.

Practical introduction of the 2nd stage—after adoption of the "implementational program" by the Sejm last February, was begun under conditions of advanced disorganization of the market. The causes were later described as a specific price for democratization and openness of life. A broad public consultation on the price- income policy triggered panic buying and released savings. This touched off the inflation overhang.

The effects of this market panic exist even now in various degrees of intensity. They were recently multiplied by the strikes.

All in all, despite price growth, we have not reached market improvement, which is stressed in the Political Bureau report, with higher prices the shop shelves were to be packed. They are not.

There were also organizational mistakes. We underappreciated the pressure on wages caused by the relatively high price rises. Were subjective reasons the source of these errors? To some extent, yes.

The plan to reach too many goals with one operation turned out to be wrong.

This is not the only thing that has had a heavy bearing on the situation which has emerged. There are also other reasons.

It should be sought, among other things, in the fixed conviction that material claims of citizens can be met through administrative decisions of the government, while ignoring the objective capacities of the economy. Strikers and those forwarding economic postulates are not free from this conviction. A section of representatives of their interests or even decision makers (are not free from it) either.

Second: The structure of the economy is still faulty. Overcoming this encounters a firm resistance to socio-professional groups which must lose as a result of restructuring. This phenomenon occurred also in other countries.

Was it by coincidence that the strikes exploded just in mining, metallurgy, and the ship-building industry, that is, wherever the reform means the necessity to subordinate the privileged branches to the generally binding rules of the game.

What is more, even partial servicing of the foreign debt will impoverish the internal market this year by about two trillion zloties.

One must not fail either to notice the temporary clashes of interests: political on the one hand and economic on the other.

The criticism, intensified recently, has been accusing the government of purposefully inducing deterioration of the living standards, and of antagonizing social groups.

This supposition is fundamentally wrong. The basic sense and goal of the council of ministers work is to strengthen and develop the peoples' state in the interest of its citizens. It cannot be any different.

No government should or can take into account motions leading to, as a matter of fact, the weakening of the economy. And such is the character of postulates stemming not only from the long-range interests of the working class and the general public, but from the current group moods of revindication which are subordinated not to the strategy of effective development, but to the tactics of the game for gaining influence and immediate profits.

Today the OPZZ and the trade union federations are quickly joining those who criticize the government for the failure of the price-income operation. This stems from the role of the unions, their function being to represent the working world.

At the same time, however, the trade unions are formulating economic postulates whose fulfillment would have to lead to the disintegration of the economy.

What is the balance of gains and losses?

The operation introduced for prices and incomes failed in many aspects.

But we have moved closer to a true cost/effect calculus, chiefly thanks to the change of coal and fuels prices.

We have created conditions for ending the central distribution. We have overcome the declining—in the recent years—dynamics of material production, though this is not the result of new prices and wages only.

The most important thing now is to control the monetary- market element and restore conditions for normal operation of economic mechanisms of the economy's functioning. We have made many efforts in this direction. The special powers given to the Council of Ministers are chiefly used for this purpose.

Owing to a considerable increase in export-destined production, we could allot large sums—300 million dollars—for the improvement of the market supplies. We have doubled the sums for currency auctions organized for enterprises.

Extra sums of Polish money were also paid for the intensification of market production. The effects of these measures should be noticeable soon.

Already in April and July the government took decisions aimed at a full utilization of production potential of market enterprises, especially those of the light industry.

The most important among them are:

—Subsidies for hard currency imports up to the level of central annual plans;

—Earmarking an extra 24 milion dollars for import of hides;

—Increasing the imports of cotton from hard currency countries by 17 thousand tons;

—Increasing the imports of raw materials for the production of synthetic fiber by 14 million dollars.

As a result of decisions made last July, agreements were signed in August for the additional light industry production worth 44 billion zlotys, while covering it with the sum of 32 million dollars.

As the production of such socially important commodities, for instance products for children or lingerie, was still insufficient, on Aug 25 the government assignated [as received] another 50 million dollars for this purpose.

At present the situation on the market is calmly slowing down. In principle, for this whole period it was possible to maintain the continuity of staple supplies.

In line with the resolution of the 7th plenum, activities were prepared aimed at ensuring the constant availability of several dozen groups of goods in shops.

To arrest the disorganization of the market, we reached out even for the measures of administrative interference such as a temporary return to the distribution of some consumer goods between individual voivodships.

Opinions are voiced that in the present situation one should again use the tested instrument of direct rationing of goods to the population.

The government, like most comrades in this hall, does not share this opinion, the panic like extension of rationing would mean a defeat both for the market and for the social frame of mind.

Although is it not easy, we must learn to solve the difficult market situations without resorting to ultimate measures.

However, I want to make it clear that all these actions could only prevent the disintegration of the market. Why, however, have they failed to bring about the improvement of the existing situation?

Well, in the situation when the incomes, i.e. the populations buying power grows faster than the value of the goods on the market—all these projects fail to produce desired results.

Imbalance and inflation were not born by the several-months-old price-wages policy. Where are their sources?

The structure of the economy inherited in the early 1980s and investment projects in the making is marked by a high consumption of materials and energy and an excess domination of supply-investment production over market production.

A swift change of this structure is not just a matter of goodwill. It requires time, but above all, mammoth outlays for development at the expense of current consumption.

In the present decade we have deliberately chosen another variant: protection of consumption levels already low after the economic breakdown of recently suffered and the previous one of this decade.

We have to service a tremendous foreign debt. This means that we pay for turning out goods and services which never reach our market. Estimates say that the inflation rate caused by this fact alone reaches some 10 percentage points. Inflation cannot be eliminated without eliminating these obstacles. Other measures may merely bring temporary improvement. They will be an artificial cushioning of price hikes with all the negative consequences of the fact. Inflation will only appear to shrink. Failure to liquidate its causes will give it a much sharper shape. Historical analogies need no recalling.

What should then be done to overcome the risks and the economic difficulties?

The government sees the need to make a clear division of the undertaken measures into two groups:

—Temporary, for the period nearest, 2-3 months;

—Those connected with the continuation of sweeping changes in the economy.

The first is to alleviate the uncontrolled character of inflation and phenomena accompanying it, like panic buying.

The coming period would be used to prepare solutions of the economic policy for the next year and the year after next and, possibly, for a longer perspective.

A basic provisional operation is to freeze prices and wages till the end of this year, which has been proposed in the report of the Political Bureau.

The calculations that have been made indicate that such a decision would make it possible to curb inflation 55 - 60 percent.

Real wages would not go down. We will also be closer to equilibrium than is the case at the present moment or was in the whole year.

The freeze requires sharp measures that would discipline price risings and remunerations. It is necessary therefore to suspend all actions of raising claims.

While forwarding the proposal to freeze prices and wages, Comrade Wladyslaw Baka presented not only the advantages of this proposal but also doubts associated with it. We share them to a large extent.

The government committee for implementing the reform has come out against the freeze.

Also, a few members of the Council of Ministers have voiced many reservations concerning such a move.

We know that its (the moves) prospects arouse anxiety among managers of enterprises, the managing cadre of the economy.

But to curb unrestrained inflation and calm the public moods, such a move is indispensable.

We must be aware of one thing.

To be able to speak about any effects at all, an unconditional, firm and consistent political support from all levels is necessary for the decision itself and for its execution.

Otherwise, a decree of the Council of Ministers on this matter, which should be adopted with the use of special powers, would simply become document fiction.

Hence a principle must be accepted and executed by all so that at the time of the freeze no pay motions will be discussed.

The recent decisions to improve supplies, to create priorities for market production and streamline the work of trade should produce more visible results than so far. For there will be a joint application of checks on price and pay increases and stimuli to increase supplies.

The freeze will create—or we assume it this way—conditions for necessary corrections in the economic policy.

They will be included in the program of consolidating the economy for the years 1989 - 1990 announced in the report of the Political Bureau.

With an intensive work on this program chances are that it may be completed within 2 - 3 months.

As for the policy on prices and incomes: We expect that the next year's price growth rate will be at least two times lower than this year.

Works are also contining on a variant providing for several percentages scales of their increase. This is in tune with previous plans and announcements.

The selection of the variant will depend on analyses and social consultations.

The plan for these consultations will certainly be expanded by the appointment of the social-state commission for the affairs of incomes and prices next September.

The experience of recent years shows that getting out of the longest and gravest crisis in the post war Polish history took place under enormous social tension, amidst extinguishing and again outbreaking conflicts.

They disturb and sometimes virtually prevent the reaching of even the most justifiable aims.

We shall never solve the swollen problems without rearrangement of political structures, without changes in the organization of social life, without working out new forms and methods of management, and without modernization of the mechanisms for the economy to function. In other words, without deep modernization of the real, existing model of socialism.

Another very important segment of this model is this: Our system of management—We want to modernize by way of a great collective undertaking: economic reform. It is, therefore, a necessity.

Approved by the Central Committee and passed by the Sejm, the "implementation program of the 2nd stage of economic reform" must be assessed right from this point of view.

When perceived in such a way, the goals formulated therein fully maintain their value and topicality.

Radicalism, to which we encourage one another, is not the race of statements.

In the existing conditions it can only have one form—of iron consistency in the implementation of the economic reform of all of its assumptions.

This consistency does not consist in the tight adherence to any formulation. The government will carry have another review of the 2d stage of the "program" mainly with a view to speeding up some of the moves envisaged in it including the elaboration of new principles of tax policy breaking the monopoly of procurement or the creation of stocks and bonds market.

We also have to revaluate economic policy, to guarantee its more effective ties with the lines of reformatory solutions.

This means the necessity to determine, both in the model and in practice, such issues which most frequently are the nuclear of conflicts in these two spheres.

There is for example a natural resistance of enterprises and whole branches against restructuring. Its reasons are comprehensible: sense of endangerment, and the loss of significance and social prestige.

The acute character of this problem can be illustrated in the question of the insufficiently effective shipbuilding industry. For example the liquidation of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the last link in one of the long "chains of inefficiency,".

From the legal, organizational, technical point of view the decision is ready.

The point is in breaking political, institutional, and psychological resistance. This, however, is far more difficult than to prepare a legal act or to divide property.

The point is not in the shipyard alone. Other enterprises are also concerned.

Special powers of the Council of Ministers created legal possibilities for speeding up the process of liquidating ineffective enterprises.

There is a concrete starting point for such decisions—the list of 140 enterprises of poor economic performance.

We have so far taken decisions concerning (the existence of) 27 enterprises and the division of several dozen others. This is something—considering the 3 months of the special powers.

A number of other decisions are in the works. The minister of industry is working on a broader program.

We often come across the charge of to slow control of bureaucracy. We do not conceal the fact that symptoms of souless and thoughtless bureaucracy are too frequent.

It will not be defeated verbally. The administration, its organization, structure, and style of work must be adjusted to the needs of the reformed state and economy.

It is not true that nothing has been done in this field. We continue the re-arrangement of the central administration.

Reconstruction of law is indispensable for a true transformation of the existing system of management. But we must not ruin it carelessly. The postulate to liquidate at one time all formal and legal barriers is utopian. Far going change in the law may be done only on the grounds of constitutional procedures.

The thing is that our legal system should correspond with the aims of the introduced reforms. It should be: simple, flexible, comprehensive, and stable.

Moreover, the doctrine of confidence should be the starting point for the regulation of the relations between the state and the citizen.

The intentions in this field envisage, among other measures, the liquidation of many regulations now in force. The draft law on taking up economic activity alone provides for lifting about 100 legal acts, including over a dozen laws.

In September we shall submit to the Sejm a draft law that will limit by a third the present legislative powers of the Council of Ministers. Lists of ministerial legal acts retaining their force during the 2nd stage of the reform will be made by December 31. This means elimination of those regulations which run counter with the reform.

We also plan to lift the decree of 1952 which legally sanctions rationing.

By the end of this year we shall prepare a bill on lawmaking. Next year, a draft law on the Council of Ministers will close these works.

The implementation of the presented intentions calls for the fulfillment of significant conditions.

Some of them are secured by the special powers for the government. But one must be aware that they eliminate only legal and formal barriers.

Some comrades have criticized the state for their execution. Everyone has the right to one's own assessment.

If we receive the political instruction as to freezing prices and wages—this will surely be a decision of a huge specific gravity within special powers.

How do we assess the remaining ones? Within 3—and not 7 months—several new economic instruments have been introduced.

We do not think we have done all that is possible. But I do not think that decisions on the future of key industrial plants, especially in the heavy industry, can be made overnight.

All intentions require also the fulfillment of the political condition: consolidating the forces and means at the party's disposal.

What I have in mind here are such requirements as:

—Offensiveness of our deputies floor group in executing programs initiated by the government and adopted by the Central Comittee, as well as implementation solutions accepted by the Political Bureau.

—A principled stance of voivodship party authorities and basic cells in combatting every kind of particularism and the policy of "one's own yard."

—Transforming our own propaganda in its general expression of "propaganda of paralysis and powerlessness," and of deepening the climate of discouragement and frustration into a consistent support for the process of introducing the reforms and overcoming resistance wherever it occurs.

The need for cohesion and uniformity of action is, in the face of threatening the substance of the state and the nation's existence as well as attempts to break the reform, a necessity to the same extent as an honest and rigorous analysis of the mistakes made, and drawing all the necessary conclusions from it.

Baka Calls For Action

LD2708140088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1036 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Speech by Wladyslaw Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 27 August—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, today's eighth plenary meeting of the Central Committee is not just being held against the background of concern and unrest, but also against the background of hope and expectations shared by the whole country and community. Social tension continues, strikes continue in some work enterprises; numerous demands have been submitted of an economic character with added political demands. It is our duty to make a stand facing these phenomena and to define steps and actions which will not only summarily discharge the situation, but which should first of all provide an answer to the question what to do in order to overcome the threat to the existence of the population, to improve market supply, to slow down price growth, and to bring about a healthy economy.

What must we do in order to restore belief in the successful future of our country? First we should answer the question why has social dissatisfaction grown? Why has it become the foundation of strike actions? An analysis of the strikers' demands indicates that there are among them very many justified demands. Hundreds of thousands of letters and statements addressed to the Central Committee condemns the strike actions, and people cut themselves off from the objectives of its organizers. At the same time however, social dissatisfaction has been generally expressed with the existing situation, and great concern for the future.

An essential influence on social feeling is the deterioration of the market situation, inflation, and a fear of empoverishment. A considerable number of Poles are becomings frustrated, not so much due to low earnings but by the constant need to overcome difficulties in everyday life. It applies equally to rural and urban inhabitants. A Pole has to chase even the simplest of cures; he goes to the clinic equipped with his own syringe; he waits 45 minutes to 1 hour at the bus or tram stops; he unsuccessfully complains about the garbage collection; he has to wait for weeks for someone to come and repair a leaking roof, etc.

In this way, the everyday life of a citizen becomes not only difficult but also highly humiliating. The source of dissatisfaction is not only the present social and economic situation; there is also a growing conviction that Poland for many years will be stuck in an economic crisis, that present economic policy is unable to overcome existing difficulties, and that the situation will deteriorate instead of improve.

It has been like that for 6 years, since the introduction of the economic reform. We cannot ignore it; inevitably the question arises—how has it come about?

Let us cast our minds back to 1982. On the basis of decisions made at the ninth congress, a bold and comprehensive economic reform began in Poland—the Polish economic reform. We started out in extremely difficult conditions. Despite this, just after the beginning, the situation improved and inflation was curtailed. And even though there was no lack of complaints about the insufficient efficacy of the reform—about price rises and the excessive slowness in the development of consumption—there was, after all, a gradual increase in consumption and the market situation improved. The mood of society also improved.

All this, to a large extent, was linked to the reform even though, as is generally known, its implementation was even then insufficiently consistent. An assessment was made by the National Assembly of the party and economic activ in June 1985. It was expected that the assembly would give a second great push to the process of rebuilding after the ninth congress. This was essential, since our own capabilities for production growth were being exhausted. It was necessary to reach deeper. However, instead of the reform's accelerator pedal being pushed, as had been expected, it was the brake pedal which was applied.

The interests of individual persons and of whole structures were under threat and difficulties in adapting to the new demands created a resistance to the reform among quite a large part of the management cadres, of the state, the party, and the economic apparat. In a conscious or even unconscious way there arose a web of subordination for enterprises and their cadres to central and regional administration. This suited weak enterprises which did not feel at ease in conditions of independence and where they were responsible for the result they achieved. These enterprises preferred to hide themselves under the administration's protective wing. These were the reasons, the logic, and the mechanics of the return to old habits. In administrative circles it was quite openly stated that the reform, such as it was described by the ninth congress, had been forced by the public, that it was contrary to the principles of socialism, and therefore that it was necessary to bring about appropriate changes and modifications.

In the fall of 1986, despite the fact that the 10th congress confirmed the correctness of the reform line, a draft bill was submitted to the Sejm which indicated a departure from some important provisons of the reform. This met with the dissapproval of party leadership, and was subjected to sharp criticism by representatives of workers' self-management and socioprofessional organizations. The Sejm applies to the government for an automatic return to the reform. This case proves that the community is attached to the idea of reform. It also shows that the democratization of sociopolitical life is the strongest factor in ensuring the course of reconstruction in the functioning of the economy adopted by the ninth congress.

Social reaction in defense of the reform, in particular to the growing weakness of the economy, and an increasingly general conviction that on the principle of compromise and manual handling we will not be able to resolve social problems in the country, provided the incentive to intensify the process of reconstructing the functioning of the economy. Of particular importance was the firm stand on this issue at the third Central Committee Plenum in December 1986. We have begun the second stage of the reform. But nearly 2 years have been wasted.

Esteemed comrades, the community had high hopes and expectations on entering the second stage of the reform. The forecasted radicalization and intensified reconstruction of the economy met with wide support. Today, however, general disappointment is being expressed. However, one should appreciate the considerable government activity toward the implementation of the second stage. The list of decisions made and prepared legal acts is long. Essential changes are however taking place in many sectors that have never been noticed by people. Government statements on progress in implementing the second stage fail to meet social requirements. This is a social fact. The introduction of extraordinary powers only influenced the state of affairs in a small way.

Essentially, the policy of prices and incomes has an unfavorable influence on the development of the situation. Hopes were linked to the price and income operation of creating indispensable economic premises and on putting the economy on the road of lasting progress. Today, we can with certainty confirm the assessment expressed at the seventh plenum that the fundamental objectives of the operation have not been achieved. On the contrary, inflation has increased considerably, the market situation has deteriorated, and unjustified increases in differences in the level of incomes have occurred between work enterrises and sectors. Before making a decision on changes in prices and incomes the party leadership on numerous occasions examined different variants. Many expert reports were examined, numerous social and scientific consultations were carried out. The decision was not a freely made one.

The promotion by the government of an attractive one-off massive prices change, and the fact that the dangers linked with this were underestimated, especially that of a potential pressure for wage increases, in the final reckoning tipped the balance toward accepting just such a draft. Taking into account the results of the referendum, the scale of price and wage changes was reduced. However, the basic assumptions of the prices and wages operation were not changed. Reality has not proved these assumptions to be correct. Already at the start, as a result of the sharp stand taken by the trade unions, the so-called compensation was raised quite significantly. The mechanism of pay structures turned out to be faulty and badly drafted. As a result incomes to a large extent slipped out of control. To a significant extent they exceed the pace of prices and the supply of goods.

The market situation worsens from month to month. On top of that this situation has been worsened by the last pay demands and the decrease in production due to strikes.

Comrades! The most urgent tasks are the improvement of market supplies and a halt to inflation. The directions of our actions were formulated at the seventh plenum. Today the matter is even more urgent. This is now a most urgent imperative. We now draw the following summary conclusions: Without doubt the implementation of those undertakings which are to increase the market supply must be intensified. Above all, one must restrict the central and budget investment projects and transfer the building and finishing materials and the fixtures and fittings thus released to the market; we must mobilise hard currency reserves in order to import materials and components for market production; we must concentrate forces and means for the production of goods of basic importance in order to ensure that there is continuity in supplying the population with these goods; there must be a removal of barriers which at present restrict our taking advantage of the possibility of exchanging with other countries the goods of which we have an excess in order to enrich our market; we must make use of part of the military production potential for the production of consumer goods.

As an urgent measure it will be necessary to continue to restrict monetary outflow. It is particularly necessary to make futher budget cuts and to abolish or restrict subsidies to nonefficient enterprises. Tax discipline must be increased, both for enterprises and for the population. Changes must be introduced in crediting the budget in such a way that its outgoings and its income are more closely balanced. The policy of hard money [trudny pieniadz] must be upheld and strengthened and the withdrawal of credits from inefficient units must be speeded up.

The possibilities for and the execution of temporary cuts in expenditure from target funds must also be considered. In addition, an experimental sale of shares in enterprises to their employees is proposed, as well as the anticipated rapid sale of bonds [obligacje] by [word indistinct] and enterprises to physical and juridical persons. We must adopt a more flexible policy of interest on savings deposits and credits; we must broaden the scope of voluntary insurances and their demonopolization; we must undertake or broaden the sale or renting of constituent parts of state property such as dwellings, allotments, shops, production and service plants to manual workers.

The implementation of many of the decisions of the seventh plenum has already begun. In recent weeks, with the aim of an immediate improvement of market supplies, in particular articles of basic significance for the population, additional foreign currency and material means have been mobilized, backed up by the appropriate organizational and system decisions. The government has concentrated on increasing the supply of basic food and industrial goods in everyday use. In the immediate future the supply of dairy produce, vegetable fats, sugar, cleansing agents, and some leather and light industry products should improve. Summary measures have also been taken in order to improve the organization of procuring agricultural produce and the operation of the meat market. This should streamline supplies to the population and decrease the burden of everyday shopping. Before the end of this year, an additional mass of goods to the value of some 500 billion zloty will be put on the market. This is a great injection. However, the real effect may be lessened and even neutralized if the outflow of [word indistinct] money is not halted.

Esteemed comrades! Assuming a high effectiveness of the actions directed toward an increase in supplies of goods and services—if however the present trends of increasing incomes were to persist—there would be no possibility of preventing a market collapse without an increase in prices. We share the feelings and fears of society with regard to inflation. Numerous proposals and demands come into the Central Committee concerning a prices and wages freeze. There is much to be said in favor of doing just that. It would enable price increases to be halted, which everyone is in favor of. However, this would make sense if a ban was simultaneously introduced on any kind of increase in remuneration. This sort of solution may meet with a negative reaction from some enterprise workforces and managements.

Such a solution may unsettle motivating systems; what is more, in a few months time we would face the problem of a price freeze in order to disorganize the market. So, there are arguments for the introduction of price freeze, and there are also strong arguments against.

We appeal to the government to consider the issue broadly, taking into consideration all economic and sociopolitical aspects, and to make an urgent decision. Regardless of whether prices and incomes will be temporarily frozen or not, it is essential to make fundamental changes in the sphere of prices and incomes. This is indispensable in order to eradicate parisitic degenerations and unjustified social costs. This is a fundamental condition toward increasing the effectiveness of the reform mechanisms and for revitalizing the economy. Changes must be deep and comprehensive, applying equally to the principles of price assessment and control, income creation, and monetary policy.

The correct course for a free creation of prices by the market cannot apply to spheres where monopolies prevail—this principle has been proved throughout the world. It should also be like that in Poland. The power of monopolies must encounter power able to prevent the abuse of monopolistic positions. We should stop talking about the need to depart from [word indistinct] method of price creation. Simply it has to be done. We must have courage to cut the policy of inflationary income growth. Inflation is the worse [word indistinct]. It acts blindly and hits first the economically weakest groups.

A turnaround in price and income policy requires careful and substantive preparation. This is very important. The most important thing is, however, for this intention to gain public support. The representatives of trade unions, farmers, old age and disability pensioners, and other socioprofessional groups must want to involve themselves in implementing a new price and income policy.

At the seventh plenum, the Central Committee submitted an initiative of establishing a permanent sociostate commission for price and income policy affairs as a broad plane for agreeing on this policy. Consultations held concerning the possible subject of the commission's work, its tasks, and composition, and the principles of operation show the real difficulties in realizing this idea. The maturing to joint decisionmaking and joint responsibility on such sensitive issues as prices and incomes takes time. This process, in the supreme interest, should be speeded up. A favorable circumstance is that the initiative to set up the commission coincides at present with the undertaking of work on reconstructing the concept of a price and income policy. The principles of the new policy should be cocreated with representatives of the trade unions, agricultural organizations, old age and disability pensioners, and other social organizations and groups.

Comrades! (?Question) of fundamental significance (?arise): Is the reform capable of getting us out of the crisis? Despite bitterness at the results to date, this matter must be taken up coolly and without emotion. Slogans and curses at both (?the time) and at it are no help at all.

Let us put the next question: Was it possible, as many people think, to achieve a considerable improvement in the situation together with entering the second stage? Nobody promised that. We must remember that. On the contrary, there were loud warnings that we have to go through 3 difficult years. We do not intend to protect anyone from criticism, neither the government nor the party leadership. We share the assessment that the source of many difficulties (?is) the erroneous and incomptently conducted economic policy. We have to see everything, however, in its proper dimension. One has to be aware of the objective conditioning factors.

Every year, we are directing abroad around $2 billion under the title of servicing the debt. This is an enormous burden on the national economy. If these resources could be exploited inside the country, market difficulties could be soothed in a fundamental way. Many enterprises could work at full steam, thereby benefitting the market. Can we not, therefore, not pay off our debts? No. This would be a shortsighted policy, calculated for immediate effects. Poland would completely lose its credibility in the eyes of foreign partners, with all its negative consequences. We adopted a course for [word indistinct] participation in the world economy. Without this, Poland would regress from the technological and civilizational angle. The openness of the economy is also imperative for promoting efficiency.

There is the matter of the scale of the servicing of debts. Here we stand unwaveringly on the basis that this must not threaten the standard of living, it must not lead to the lowering of this standard, and it also must not threaten the vital need of developing the national economy. All assessments point to the fact such a presentation of the situation is realistic and possible. To a large degree this depends on the stand of and cooperation with foreign partners in solving the problems of the Polish debt. Some progress has been made in this sector. Talks with the fund [as heard], with the Paris Club, are at an advanced stage. The appropriate agreements have been signed with commercial banks. Work is in progress toward acquiring credits from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. We have reports that in the not too distant future, the credit blockade may be lifted. This would create new qualitative conditions for implementing the reform. The current strikes may harm this favorable process for how (?many matters).

At the end of September, the annual meeting of the governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will take place in West Berlin. Taking part will be leading representatives of world finance. Numerous initiatives for meetings of the Polish representative were reported, aimed at conducting sounding out talks on the possibility of engaging foreign capital in our economy. In recent days, the interest in such meetings has weakened. Potential contractees are waiting for a clarification of the situation in our country.

No one is going to invest in something which is uncertain. That is the most up-to-date and clear illustration of the correlation between economics and politics.

During plenary sessions of the Central Committee we have often stated that the obsolete material- and energy-absorbing structure of the Polish economy is the foremost cause—and the most difficult to overcome—of our country's backwardness. These factors weigh and will continue to weigh on our economy, irrespective of what economic policy is applied and which team is implementing it. Of course, the sort of policy chosen and the efficiency with which it is implemented may increase and may lengthen the time that this negative weight lasts. However, the fact of carrying the costs of our debts and of an inefficient structure is an objective, irrefutable fact.

There are many more such factors. There are also factors which have, in equal measure, a subjective and objective character. These are, fashioned over long years, the behavior of enterprises, management cadres, and workers as a whole. This is, of course, a situation which is slightly different in different places and in various circles.

The administrative apparatus continues to be heavy and the line of the reform has not yet entirely reached through to its activities. Many laws and regulations have not brought and do not bring any or hardly any benefit to the economy or to the population. It is interesting to note that Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski drew attention to these barriers—he was the main organizer of economic life in the 1930's in pre-war Poland. He drew attention to the fact that a charateristic of Polish reality is the constant appeals of businessmen—this was private enterprise and private capital—for state help. I quote: Lower taxes; lower transport tariffs; raise duties; expand export premiums; give credits; lower interest paid on credits; open subventions—these were almost common postulates.

As one can see, this trait is not created by the socialist system; it is not the exclusive domain of our contemporary economy. The roots of such attitudes go considerably deeper. More time will therefore be needed to overcome them. What road leads to that? Only a consistent change in the application of the reformed conditions of operation and relentless execution of those conditions. There are no other possibilities.

Comrades! Taking what is objective into account hampers and limits the possibilities of action by the government, by the administration, by the authorities in the broad concept. It is with all the more insight and criticism that we must adopt a stance on how the possibilities for action are utilized by the government in order to resolve the problems of working people and the whole country. How is the economic reform being implemented? Will the real concept of reform, defined by the ninth congress and developed within the framework of the second stage, stand the test of time? Restructuring in the Soviet Union is proceeding in a similar direction, as are the system changes in other socialist states. Eminent economic analysts, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, state that the reform is a bold and cohesive concept for restoring the economy to health in Poland. Professional circles close to the opposition also do not question the basic line of the reform. An alternative concept for repairing the Polish economy does not exist [word indistinct]. There is therefore no problem of changing the principles of the reform. Independence, self-management, and self-financing of enterprises; a multi-sector nature and equality of sectors; openness to cooperation with abroad; the role of the market mechanism and limitation of the state in the economy are inviolable; these are the fundamental reform principles.

There is a question of improving system solutions, and even the reconstruction of system solutions, such as the system of prices, incomes, the monetary system, the financial system, and so on. There is also a question of dynamic and successful operation. Working people do not undermine the principles of the reform; they feel that it is in their fundamental interest, that well carried out reform, is the reform for the workers, for the intelligentsia, reform for rural inhabitants. This has been strongly expressed in various ways. The community demands more offensive and consistent implementation of the reform. The lack of stable and clear rules for economic activity, faulty solutions which cause easy and unjustified increase of profits in some enterprises and which limits motivation in others are subject to strong criticism. Sharp opposition has been created by a particular kind of enterprise depending on parasitic exploitation of all kinds of economic imbalances. In view of this, in many work enterprises they say: Good, we understand, now sacrifices are necessary in order that tomorrow will be better. However, this should apply to all, but it is not so. An injured sense of justice, which has nothing in common with egalitarism, is a factor in social frustration. We must be fully aware of it. Implementation of the reform is being slowed down by the appearance in the community of mass passive attitudes and mistrust.

The road to changing this unfavorable situation demands deep changes in the execution of authority. This is extremely urgent. First of all, it is not a matter of further reducing the number of ministries and central establishments. If that is necessary it will be done; it is very easy to do. It is chiefly a matter of changing the philosophy of the execution of authority. For tens of years in our country a complicated system of legal assurances has been formed, built on the silent premise that it is permissable to be dishonest toward the state and the (?factory). In our governing system, inspections which duplicate each other have developed on a large scale. The superfluity of inspection bodies has caused their depreciation. There are also known examples of setting up informal units exclusively provided for the use of inspectors.

The legal system, constantly perfected, has restricted the initiative of production centers. And at the same time, adapting to the existing circumstances has ruined the chances of the unsubmissive. The administrative apparatus at all levels has brought them up to fear the making of any decisions, [word indistinct] and especially in matters where one would have to accept individual responsibility. This state of affairs cannot be maintained. Listening to what various production organizers or workers say at various meetings and during various debates about their workplaces, it is not difficult to see that there are in our country quite a lot of people who want to work productively and who are far from thinking exclusively about their own narrow interests. But when they come to list all the obstacles that they come across—then, really, one can feel quite helpless.

Most of these obstacles have been born out of the bureaucratic system of managing people and objects—based on an attitude of distrust toward citizens. That is why it is so important to give a far greater impetus than so far to the task of liberating ourselves from this philosophy of management: not through calls that one must do things differently, in a new way, and so on but, first and foremost, through a swift achieving of a complete clean-up of the system of managing the state and the economy, of those regulations and rules which restrict human initiative and people's spirit of innovation. One can see, almost with the naked eye, which initiatives and undertakings—which are socially and economically valid—will fail to reach a satisfactory conclusion due to obstacles of an official and legal nature. All of this can be summarized as a need for dynamic changes against the delays and slowness of administrative and legislative procedures.

A revolution removes all barriers at a stroke. We are stuck in the middle of regulations and bureaucratic floundering. How should we act so that legalism will not block the road to the necessary transformation? In March this year, Wojciech Jaruzelski, motivated by the desire to speed up and increase the effectiveness of reform activities, put forward an initiative to grant the government and the Sejm extraordinary powers. The government received such powers; successive decisions are being taken on this basis. It is necessary to state openly that in light of practice so far, it is not possible to see that their exploitation is leading to a breakthrough in the reform of the economy. Meanwhile, the order of the day is precisely radical acceleration.

Are the scale, the reach of the powers granted really adequate? Is the dynamism of acting lightly satisfactory? We must provide an answer to this question, too. In any case, there is no doubt that the creation of possibilities for the government to successfully break down the formal bureaucratic barriers which make difficult the undertaking of initiatives and activities in accordance with the needs of the times and the logic of the reform by enterprises, institutions, coperatives, social organizations, individuals, and groups of workers, is indispensable. We need actions of various types which so far been forbidden by regulations.

Comrades! Immediate ventures may bring temporary relief but will not lead to the permanent curing of the Polish economy. The Politburo believes that during the coming 3 months, to the end of November, a plan for the consolidation of the national economy for the years 1989-90 must be worked out and presented. This plan should make precise a distinct and socially legible line for socioeconomic policy and should adapt ventures and the implementation schedule for the second stage of economic reform to the new situation. In the planning sense, this would require a general revision of the national socioeconomic plan for the last 2 years of the current 5-year period, and a departure from the routine procedure of working out the central yearly plan for 1989. Consultation procedure would have to be subjected to detailed, extraordinary changes during the course of preparations. The consolidation plan would constitute the basis for the definition of conditions and parameters for the activity of enterprises. Appropriate information would be conveyed to the enterprises before the end of the year.

What, above all, do we want to achieve through this extraordinary step? Firstly, we want to conduct a thorough revision of the investment program as far as this is possible, aimed at releasing the greatest number of resources for the market and the development of the production of consumer goods. Secondly, to increase the degree of exploitation of production capabilities in enterprises producing for the market, distinguishing themselves by the greatest efficiency. Thirdly, to accelerate the process of eliminating inefficient units by means of the ruthless application of economic discipline and the direction of resources gained in this way to where they may really be well used for the benefit of society. Fourthly, the real and not only verbal opening up of roads for the development of the enterprise spirit in all sectors. It would be advisable, for example, to speedily facilitate the leasing of enterprises or departments to workers, the creation of new forms of capital, for example mixed state-cooperative-private companies for the solving of specific problems and also, the improvement of conditions for the creation of new forms of the organization of work and productivity in state enterprises, on the principle of initiative and strong motivation.

The consolidation plan should create better premises for deepening the process of restructuring the economy, in the direction of speeding up the development of housing construction, the food economy, the energy and fuel economies, and in the direction of strengthening the pro-export orientation. The stabilization plan should begin the process of reaching to the roots of inflation, with the aim of removing those roots. The preparation of specific undertakings linked with the relocation of production factors should be carried out in parallel by the appropriate organs of the economic administration and by several-person, competent teams of experts known not only for their high qualifications, but who are also convinced of the usefulness of such work.

Within the framework of the consolidation plan, the construction of the standing of Polish international money should begin. In Poland's more than 40-year-old history, the zloty has never been a strong currency. In recent years, the situation has simply worsened. Current trends are becoming a threat to the future. The weak standing of the money and the rapidly progressing depreciation creates a (?deformation) in public awareness, particularly among the young generation. It destroys the conviction of the socialist economy's ability to reform, ensuring a high level of efficiency and standard of living; and often causes emigration to make money, as the main possibility of material advancement.

A weak currency gives birth to the phenomena of speculation and corruption. It contributes to the deepening of social inequalities. A slowing down of inflation and the depreciation of the currency and the stabilization of its purchasing power has thus not only an economic aspect but also social, psychological, and political aspects, and even a moral aspect. The importance of the matter is all the greater because the currency constitutes one of the basic forms of ties between society and the authorities. It shapes trust or, in contrast, indifference, disapproval, or even hostility to the authorities.

Esteemed comrades! the implementation of a plan for the consolidation of the national economy thus sketched will no doubt call forth opposition and even counteraction on the part of all sorts of social and professional groups, branch and local lobbies whose interests will be threatened. It is not possible to overcome this opposition without social support, without the development of institutions and the democratic mechanisms of social life. The authorities in the past as a rule gave way before the pressure of particular interests which were contrary to the general societal interest. This must change! This is the to be or not to be of the Polish economy!

Miodowicz: 'Statements Have Not Helped'

LD2708230188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1840 GMT 27 Aug 88

["Extensive excerpts" from speech by Alfred Miodowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the OPZZ, at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 27 Aug—recorded]

[Text] Comrade first secretary, comrades! Coincidence perhaps causes the party for the third time in its history to call the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee in a similarly difficult situation. Once again, statements have not helped that this is the last time, that never again will we commit errors and divergences that cause distortions and U-turns. Unfortunately, today again we must repeat the workers' slogan: Socialism yes, distortions no. And for the first time in the history of People's Poland there was a chance to avoid the need to explain ourselves before the working class for the nonimplementation of accepted programs.

The trade unions warned and put forward proposals. Unfortunately, they were not listened to. In the statement of 29 August we said publicly and loudly that that which is felt by the majority should be clearly articulated by the unions. This voice of the unionists cannot be heard other than as a vote of no confidence in the government. We state that the source of the current wave of conflicts is the lack of reaction to the earlier proposals of the trade unions, self-managements, and work teams. This is evidenced by their repeated espousal by the strikers.

It is not possible to explain in any way why, since 1980, despite the August guarantees, the housing problem rather than being solved has become worse. Since 1981, the issue of the working-time of miners has not been resolved. The prices policy is still incomprehensible to everyone. Wages are less and less associated with work effort. The administration has grown beyond all measure. The miners are speaking of this today, both working and striking miners.

Similar problems are raised by other professional groups, the metalurgical, shipyard, [word indistinct] and other workers. But the workers in the municipal services, transportation, workers, the health service, textile workers also present their grievances to us. One can name other branches. Conflict threatens everywhere, because working people in the socialized economy have lost the feeling of social safety. The OPZZ Executive Committee has recognized that the further continuation of the current situation is unacceptable, and it has turned to the speaker of the Sejm to convene an extraordinary session of parliament.

The government itself admits that there is much it has not succeeded in. Who today is concerned with the admission of errors for which he who commits them does not pay? The world of working people pays, among others the 7 million trade unionists who in their everyday work maintain the country on the surface despite everything. People are demanding personal responsibility. This standpoint should not be a surprise to anyone. Already, the Congress of the Reborn Polish Trade Unions has stated that the economic policy is not addressing social needs. We expressed the view that it does not contain a program for active influence on all the structural changes in the economy, on the increase of demand, on the limitation of inflation. It is worse still in practice. Unionists [words indistinct] must be particularly disturbed by the social feeling that the standard of living is constantly falling. Let us once and for all establish what [words indistinct] has to (?say) in this respect.

From our analyses it transpires that real wages in the socialized economy have fallen. Pensions have fallen. The structure of earnings has drastically worsened. An ever greater part is allocated for food. Statistics confirm the view that the prices policy which was rejected by the referendum will be realized with a surplus, even though the effect is the opposite of that declared: subsidies have risen, the wages and expenditures policy has worsened. This [word indistinct] the dramatic face of our Polish situation. [Word indistinct] (?tragic) next to a further economic regression. Every step backwards in living conditions is dramatic for our country. Although someone may explain what happened, no one knows how it happened. No one expected economic miracles. In reality, there is at least (?enough) for the slowing down of bad tendencies. But, instead, we have people at the gates again. We have tried to answer the question of how the attitude of the nonstrikers has changed toward the strikers. [words indistnct] of the nonstrikers to the strikers currently. True, comrade [name indistinct] spoke of this yesterday, but I would like to say again that wavering and disapproval has dominated before now. The strikers today enjoy significantly greater understanding. For the second time, youth has found itself on the forecourts and at the gates. This exceptional willingness to go forward is not a coincidence. After all, what has it got to lose? Let us finally admit that without resolving a number of basic problems facing young people we will not have [word indistinct] houses, the start-up for young families, professional advance, nurseries and day care centers, access to technology—this is where the road to the young generation must lie.

We also have few young people in the trade unions. They can see after all that though we speak loudly and critically of their life problems, the results are poor. Meanwhile, 25-30-year-olds with children, often without houses, working in socialized enterprises have the worst situation. They are slipping backward. The result of this is frustration, a feeling of a lack of opportunity, turning one's back on the system. They are not interested in the reform; they are ever more aggressively disposed toward the authorities. The opposition is taking advantage of this.

The cleverly served up myth of Solidarity is doing its work. Perhaps this is the way, along the road of repeat, is what young people are counting on, moving along by way of repetition. All of this is heated up by voices and considerations and also calculations on the subject of union pluralism. Is this, however, all that is involved? Is this not a convenient screen? Is political pluralism and the struggle for power to be the final game?

The class trade unions have a clear standpoint on the question of pluralism: One trade union for one work enterprise. On the other hand, the program, the forms of activity of the union authorities is the decision of the members themselves, undertaken at the place itself. The position of the trade union cannot be marked out [word indistinct]. Self-managements, independent organizations functioning legally, yes. Only they can decide this shape and the place in the enterprise. There are no obstacles. The character of the enterprise trade union organization was given by the majority of the employees. That is why today those who support the idea of a second trade union, having regard to the legally functioning enterprise organization, do not want to seek the position of leader. One can always carry out new elections, put at the head those whom the enterprise (?wants), through the legal decision of the legaly functioning union. Such democracy and freedom of speech as is to be found in our trade unions is not trusted only by the exceptionally hostile.

I repeat, the workforce always has the possibility of shaping the trade union in its image. It can also always carry out a (?revision). However, one matter must be supreme: the good of the workforce, the interest of the firm. For, if the firm goes bankrupt then there will be no independent or self-governing trade union.

The Polish reborn trade unions are [words indistinct] and bold in their activity. [Words indistinct] complain to us that they are [word indistinct] bold in their activity. We have always expressed our ties to socialism and social justice. We are also an early warning system, as Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski frequently stresses. I believe that this function is fulfilled well by us, though we are aware that no one likes warnings and that criticism is pleasant for no one.

Conflicts at the interface between the unions and the administration are unavoidable; ostensible agreement without the support of the masses leads nowhere. However, we quite often notice that people are offended, as if it were we who had brought about the situation which we had warned about. We also notice attempts to maneuver the unions into bureaucratic wasting of time and sterile (?gestures). I will only recall the years-long struggles with central administration regarding collective labor agreements. I can remind you of the concepts for the revision of the labor code—concepts which were though up from behind someone's desk. How many simultaneous commissions, sterile discussions, which unnecessarily heated up social moods have there been?

What is the end result of all this? Much unnecessary work—which nobody needs—and a waste of time, time which we will not regain. The union activ accuses us of excessive caution. But what possibilities do we have for legally enforcing [words indistinct]

The experiences of recent weeks show the urgent need for strengthening the position of the trade unions. The authority of as all and the position of working people depends, however, on the state of the economy, on the implementation of the postulates put forward by working teams, on the safeguarding of their vital interests. A proper and realistic attitude toward the trade unions on the part of all sectors of the administration cannot be just a matter of their goodwill; this should be given constitutional standing. This is also an important problem for the party, which bears responsibility for the whole of the country's social life.

The party, which influences cadre policy, should entrust the administration of the state and the management of the economy to people who are socially accepted, who are competent, whose qualifications are confirmed by practice. The party, through the Sejm and the system of people's councils, judges its cadres on the basis of the true results of their actions. An important element for this appraisal—at all levels—should be competent cooperation with the trade unions. And it is not a question of nonconflict: As I have said, differences of opinions must give birth to (?actions) and also to sharp conflicts. The point is that the authorities at all levels should learn to make use of the trade union stand; this is in the interest of working people, of the trade unions, and also of the party.

At present we have an unacceptable and abnormal situation in terms of legality. He who knows about the activities of trade unions in defense of the working people's interests (?knows that) more often than not they come up against bureaucratic difficulties and a resistance which cannot be overcome. On the other hand, demands put forward within the framework of legal strikes and actions very much more quickly get an almost immediate (?response). In such a situation we are losing all credibility in the eyes of working people.

Why is this so? Because the procedure for organizing a legal strike is complicated and exceptionally long. Which work-force is prepared to wait? The procedure demands extensive legal knowledge; it is as unclear as the tax system in enterprises. Thus, we must have the right, and the opportunity, to simplify this road. It is a task for trade unions and also for judges. It was done like this is the case of the Bydgoszcz transport enterprise, declaring that the strike was legal despite the fact that not all the procedural norms had been fulfilled. Why they did not have to be fulfilled? Because the federation had exhausted all legally required factors, so the union organization of the Bydgoszcz transport enterprise had no need to repeat them.

Do you know, comrades, what a painful road is taken by union organizations which follow the procedure for collective disputes? I will quote several examples. An unecessary battle for change to Resolution No 108 of the Council of Ministers concering the supply of coal to employees and the population ended after nearly 1 year by government withdrawal on the eve of it being examined by a tribunal [word indistinct]. After strikes in urban transportation in April a system of bonuses in enterprises was to be terminated, so far it has not be resolved. I know that the collective dispute procedure was resumed yesterday. For whose benefit is a 10 percent surcharge on tourist services, introduced against the advice of trade unions in 20 voivodships. Who tried for years to settle an amendment to the Miner's Charter [word indistinct]? Who has been trying for years to settle obligations toward the construction workers? [words indistinct] We must do it, certainly, comrades.

It is worth thinking seriously about the problem and clearer diferentiations should be made between political and economic authority. The government cannot [word indistinct] for the Central Committee and the party; it breaks up responsibility.

Comrades, one of the party's most considerable achievements in recent years is the reconstruction of the class union movement. The movement, in its struggles with bureacratic elments in defense of the vital interest of the working people, social justice, and dignity of labor, can count on and does expect the support of the party of workers. Leading the country out of the crisis, and its results, can serve a future social agreement between credible government and the representation of the working class.

It must guarantee the union movement the right to a decisive voice in key matters for working people. These are widely understood rights relating to the right to work, prices and incomes policy, and also opinions in matters of [word indistinct] policy. At this moment, however, we must, comrades, answer for ourselves the cardinal question: What is the state of implementation of the resolutions of the ninth and tenth party congresses? And [words indistinct]

Radio Reports Proceedings

LD2708175388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Now we are linking up with our reporter at the deliberations of the Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

[Unidentified reporter] [passage omitted] Jerzy Szmajdzinski [chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, ZSMP] stated that the ZSMP gives its pledges to all young people who have joined in the strikes for economic reasons. [sentence as heard] He requested the competent organs to honor that. Next he referred to the matter of freezing prices and wages, stating that this concept is incorrect. Jerzy Szmajdzinski concluded by submitting a proposal to urgently call a national party conference where relevant solutions to the Polish situation would be adopted. [passage omitted]

Zdzislaw Swiatek, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Czerwone Zaglebie hard coal mine in Sosnowiec, referred to the recent events in Poland and in the mining communities. He said that the losses could not be made up and the sociopolitical situation is often the subject of talks among the workers. The workers know that the strikes are directed by former Solidarity activists, using old and slightly modified methods, and that they get off scot-free. Even if they pay a fine it does not come out of their own pocket. They agitate with impunity among young workers who are dissatisfied with their situation. People are waiting for firm and consistent behavior on the part of the authorities—the drawing of conclusions, but also the examination of demands submitted a long time ago by the workers and the implementation of the reform. [passage omitted]

Stanislaw Knap, an engine driver from the Polish State Railways' [PRP] Kracow-Plaszow junction, said that the situation in railway circles was not good. They are not striking but they support the demands of the strikers. They are not as interested in the pay demands as in the dignity of the workers, particularly workers in state enterprises. He went on to say that without the working class, the reform would not be carried out in these enterprises; thus, one should consider the financial conditions there. We should also consider the bureaucracy. In the PKP, for example, it is not necessary to have so many (?levels of management). We must do something so that the reform conditions are accepted by the great industrial working class and so that the government does not have to govern on its knees.

That is all for this report.

Report on Miodiwocz, Messner Speeches

LD2708193388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Excerpts] The eighth PZPR Central Committee is being held in Warsaw to discuss the country's sociopolitical and economic situation and the party's current tasks. Over to our reporters: [passage omitted]

Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Politburo and chairman of the OPZZ, pointed out at the begining of his speech that this is the third time that a Central Committee plenum is being held in circumstances of threats. We must again repeat the slogan: Yes to socialism; no to distortions.

The often expressed voice of trade unionists about the nonimplementation of resolutions and provisions of the reform, should be taken as a vote of no confidence in the government. The housing situation is not improving, work is not related to pay, and bureaucracy is being felt more and more painfully. Working people in the socialized economy have lost their sense of social security. Hence, the OPZZ asked the Sejm speaker to convene a session of the parliament.

The government admits that there has been failure, but admitting guilt is of little significance; it is results that matter. Social feeling decides the fall in the standard of living. We should decide who is right. It transpires from the OPZZ's analysis that the prices policy, discarded by referendum, will be implemented to an ever higher degree.

Alfred Miodowicz said that trade unionists count on a slow-down of unfavorable trends, but at this moment people are at the gates of work enterprises. When trade unionists talk criticially about the situation it makes no impression. People in their 20's found themselves in very bad circumstances, with no accomodation and no resources to buy apartments. So they become [word indistinct] for the opposition.

Further on, Alfred Miodowicz spoke about the role of trade union organizations. He said that the stand is clear: One union in an enterprise, and whoever becomes chairman depends on the workforce which always has a chance to shape its union. The good of the workforce and the good of the firm must prevail.

We realize that no one likes warnings, and criticism is badly received but it is not the unions who create the situations of which they warn, and [words indistinct] bureaucratic waste of time. Over the 2 years since the Sejm law on collective agreements came into force only the printers have managed to settle a collective agreement, just one union.

Trade unionists blame OPZZ [words indistinct] procedure for settling problems must be simplified. [passage indistinct]

We should erect a wall against bureaucracy and arrogance. [passage indistinct] We also must reply to the question: What is the state of implementation of the resolutions of the party's 9th and 10th congresses? With this Alfred Miodowicz ended his speech.

After Alfred Miodowicz the floor was taken by Premier Zbigniew Messner. Irrespective of how we view the strikes, he said, they dealt a severe blow to the economy; they also impaired Poland's authority in the international arena. Earlier, questions had been put here in this room as to why the government was holding back on actions which would put an end to the strikes. Premier Zbigniew Messner said:

First, break the process by force, but such solutions did not come into it. We have already had examples of how the world reacted to similar actions in the past.

Second, we could have sat down to talks, but what were we to talk about? Reactivating Solidarity? But this has nothing to do with the economic situation.

And, finally, the third solution: to confront problems which arise each day as and when they happen and in a considered way, problems which arise each day, without emotion or (?favoritism). And we are keeping to these considerations.

Next the speaker began an analysis of the reasons for the lack of consistency in the implementation of the economic reform.

Premier Zbigniew Messner is still speaking. This is all we have to report. Thank you for your attention.

27 Aug Discussion Ends

LD2708231388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Poland 1800 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] The Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee that is deliberating in Warsaw is devoted to an evaluation of the country's sociopolitical and economic situation and the current tasks of the party. Discussion is continuing on the speech by Wladyslaw Baka on the subject of the socio-economic situation and directions for improving it and also on the report on the widening of dialogue and accord, an evaluation of the political situation and the problems of the development of the political system given by Jozef Czyrek.

In the discussion it is being emphasized that without the working class, its initiative and effort, it is not possible to implement the difficult program of economic reform, and it is appropriate to do everything so that the workers treat the program of reform as their own. Meanwhile, too many phenomena and problems dishearten the working class, from supply difficulties to bureaucratic dreariness. Czeslaw Staszczak, the deputy minister of internal affairs, pointed out the facts illustrating the growth of the strike threat, the emotions and obstinacy of the strike committees in various enterprises. Against this background he illuminated the prophylactic and order activities undertaken by the ministry after the speech of Minister Kiszczak. The speaker emphasized that force is used in hopeless situations, where all the possibilities of resolving the situations and conflicts through political means are exhausted. He gave assurance that the ministry and all its forces will continue to support and protect the process of political and economic reforms in our country.

Ireneusz Sekula, the minister of labor and social policy, informed the participants of the plenum about the work of the ministry on the preparation of new principles for wages policy. He said that the point therein is to find such mechanisms that could more interest the workers in the good economic results of the enterprise. Speaking of the problems of social policy, Ireneusz Sekula stressed that the state cannot take upon itself sole responsibility for its realization, but that enterprises and other economic units must participate as well.

Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski, the chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, polemicized on the statements of participants in the plenum who spoke of a lack of progress in reforming the economy. He emphasized that the program of the second stage of economic reform is being consistently implemented and that no new postulates have been declared apart from those put forward in the implementation timetable of the second stage of the reform. The deputy premier next put forward examples of the activities of the government tending toward the restucturing of the economy, which are visible in the changes in investment policy. The results of this will be ready for evaluation after a time, said Zdizlaw Sadowski.

Premier Zbignew Messner, who spoke last today, defended the policy of the government. Forty minutes ago, the first day of the sessions of the Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee ended. The discussion will be renewed tomorrow at 1200 [1000 GMT]

Organizational Issues Resolved

LD2808225788 Warsaw PAP in English
2134 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 28—The 8th PUWP plenary meeting devoted to the evaluation of the social, political, and economic situation in Poland and the party's current tasks ended its two-day debates here on Sunday. The meeting, which was presided over by Wojciech Jaruzelski who delivered the final speech, unanimously adopted a resolution of the 8th PUWP CC Plenum.

On Sunday the discussion was continued on the PUWP CC Political Bureau's reports presented on the first day of the meeting. 34 speakers participated in the 2-day debates (we carried the abridged versions separately).

The Central Committee accepted the proposals put forward by the Political Bureau and concerning organizational matters: Appointing Wladyslaw Baka chairman of the CC Social and Economic Policy Commission, creating a Social and Professional CC Department with Maciej Lubczynski as its head, appointing Janusz Basiak, the hitherto first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Tarnobrzeg, head of the Social and Economic Policy Department, and appointing Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski chairman of the PUWP CC Propaganda Commission.

The closing speech was delivered by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski. (abridged version of the speech will be given separately).

The resolution of the 8th PUWP CC plenum has confirmed the will to continue the policy of sociaist renewal, reforming the economy, democratization and agreement. It is emphasized in the document that the tasks specified during the 6th and the 7th CC plenary meetings must be fully implemented. We need a radical speeding up, determination and consistency, strict exacting of responsibility from those who have been appointed to execute these tasks. The Central Committee, the resolution reads, abides by the stance that the Polish problems cannot be solved either by impeding the reforms, partial measures, or fruitless negation, breaking the law and destruction. The Central Committee has appealed to all citizens, all social circles, members of organizations and associations to actively back the measures aimed at curbing unfavourable tendencies, overcoming the crisis phenomena, and opening the way to social and economic development (the complete text of the resolution will be moved later on).

Speakers Address Proceedings

LD2808120888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee has begun its deliberations at its eighth plenum. Andrezj [name indistinct] reports on the proceedings:

[Correspondent] A dozen or so minutes ago the eighth plenum restarted its deliberations, which are devoted to evaluating the sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland and current party tasks. The discussions are being chaired by Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Central Committee first secretary.

At this moment Barbara Krupa-Wojciechowska, the rector of the Gdansk Medical Academy, has finished her remarks; she was the second person to take the floor. The first was Zdzislaw Gmurek, a polisher from the linen enterprise in Zyradow. He said that Zyradow workers were not on strike, but that that did not mean they were not angry. They are aware, however, of the obvious truth that to be able to share, it is necessary to work, and strikes do not serve that. He appealed to the strikers not to come under the influence of professional destroyers. He also called on Central Committee members to say a decisive no to those whose actions visibly damage the working class and nation. At the moment, from the tribune of the eighth plenum, the third speaker is speaking. As the meeting chairman, the Central Committee first secretary, said, several people have applied to speak.

We will report further on the discussion in later bulletins.

Warsaw Reports More Speakers

LD2808144588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Excerpts] We are linking up with our correspondents in the Central Committee building:

[Unidentified correspondent] This is the reporting post of the Polish radio at the deliberations of the eighth Central Committee plenum. The discussion has been going on for more than an hour on the 2d day of the plenum.

Speaking from the tribune Barbara Krupa-Wojciechowska, rector of the Medical Academy in Gdansk, concentrated on the questions contained in the Politburo report delivered by Jozef Czyrek, and thus on the problem of national accord. In her opinion the time has come, together with the opposition, to cease reminding one another of mistakes so as to take a step forward. It has to be assumed that in opposition circles there are also patriots who think differently. One cannot draw out quarrels which lead to tragedy.

Next Ryszard Brodowicz, a fitter from the Polmatex-Wifama enterprises in Lodz, took the floor. Justice, in the opinion of the workers, is an identical right and duty for everyone, he said. At the same time there are people who think they are allowed to do more than others. He admitted that these should be ruthlessly brought to account. Speaking about the equal distributon of various sectors of the economy, he appealed for burdens and duties to be equally distributed throughout the sectors. He said that workers were not jealous of anyone but would also not agree to their work being preyed upon.

The floor was then taken by General Zdzislaw Rozbicki, deputy commander of the Silesian Military Region. He spoke of the unequivocally critical attitude of the military milieu to those who inspire opposition and the activists who fan the wave of strikes. Those actions are breaking up the working class and create divisions in society which are difficult to eliminate. The strikes, Gen Rozbicki said, also weaken Poland's security and its position in the international arena. Bearing in mind the possibility of restricting the action of the wreckers, he proposed the creation of workers' defense groups which would not allow opposition activists to enter work enterprises, thereby restricting their possibilities of influencing the working class. In another part of his speech he spoke of the need to improve party work in the region and the need to bring PZPR local cells to account for the implementation of instructions and decisions of the highest party echelons. [passage omitted]

A moment ago Ryszard Wojna, a publicist, finished his remarks. At the beginning he expressed thanks for having the possibility as a guest of the plenum to speak from the tribune of that forum. He spoke of the insufficient understanding by society and also party members on the subjects and decisions of the two last plenary meetings of the Central Committee. They initiated, after all, fundamental and revolutionary transformations in Poland and today a great effort should be concentrated on bringing that truth to everyone's awareness. He went on to state that we are living in times when new rules of the political game have been formulated, and that there is an opposition in Poland, and that is our true reality. This has to be taken into consideration in each action. At the center of the dialogue with the opposition ought to be its attitude toward the state.

Plenum Breaks; Speakers Quoted

LD2808150088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Excerpts] A break is now taking place in the deliberations of the eighth plenum devoted to evaluating the socio-political and economic situation and the current party tasks. The discussion ended a few minutes after 1400. Altogether, 44 participants of the plenum spoke. The discussion was critical. Speaking most generally, the discussion related to the causes of the tension being experienced by the country and society. The members of the Central Committee demanded that the plenum accept the government's determination to implement specific and most urgent decisions that would allow in the shortest reasonable time for the removal of the threat, and in the longer term to bring about a healthy economic situation. At this moment, work is continuing on the resolution of the eighth plenum. This is a task that is indeed most complicated, especially in the economic sphere, for there are so many dilemmas and doubts. Today, now, they must be resolved, and this is precisely what the decrees and resolutions commission is working on.

Let's return to the discussion. Earlier we presented the main thoughts of six of today's speeches. The next speaker was Jerzy Szmajdinzki, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the main board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. He supplemented his speech on the first day of the deliberations and replied to the remarks contained in the speech of General Zdzislaw Rozbicki to the effect that the granting of guarantees to the young people and the youth movement have a feeling of responsibility for the development of the situation in Poland. Members of the ZSMP, like members of the party, are not striking but wish to talk, for instance in the youth parliament, which is in any case organized not just by the ZSMP. He also talked of certain particular situations associated with tension and strikes. People removed from enterprises tended to be young people rather than old, which creates the impression that there were among them inspirers, organizers, and that was not so. This is a wider problem, as when someone is invited for talks in the framework of accord, then in general these are older, well-known people, and the representatives of the youth milieux are as such forgotten. [passage omitted]

The break in the deliberations of the eighth plenum will last, as Wojciech Jaruzelski, the chairman of these deliberations, first secretary of the Central Committee, said, until 1700.

Jaruzelski Closing Speech

LD2808193888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1805 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Speech by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski "given at the end of the deliberations of the PZPR Eighth Plenum;" recorded]

[Text] Comrades! The deliberations of the eighth plenum are coming to a close. In the reports given by Comrade Baka and Comrade Czyrek, the Politburo presented a diagnosis of the situation and also the directions for solutions. The resolution discusses these in detail. It is thus not possible to address all of them.

I will start with a personal reflection, as a member of the party of many years standing, remembering various stages and various moods. Those of us gathered here are only a small part of our nation. We do not at all claim that in this hall there is clustered the entire knowledge, wisdom, and experience of the party. On many occasions decisions of historic importance have been made here. However, those of us who are older remember resolutions that have not stood the test of time. The eighth plenary session will, however, surely go down well, as eloquent evidence of the new style of party work: the feeling of close association with the problems that people live with, the sharpness of the assertions, and (?their) realism.

In the discussion, there were also controversial voices. Once they would have been qualified according to various simplified evaluations and formulas. Today we look at them differently. This does not, of course, mean that we absorb everything like a sponge. What is decisive is how far the intentions and above all the decisions made are really in accordance with the interest of workers and the country, how far they serve the implementation of the programmatic line of the 9th and 10th congress, how far they go in company with the readiness for a disciplined implementation of the resolutions. This is the key condition for party unity. Unity, thus understood, was shown in full by this plenum.

The workers' protests arise as a rule from economic and social contradictions. They are also an indication of mistakes made by the authorities, of weakening of the link with the working class, and insufficient sensitivity to the problems of workers. We reaffirm that the stance of concern for the human being is the fundamental guage of our credibility, but science often finds itself in the wilderness.

As for the current disquiet, it has come out into the open once again that various problems of the workforce, often frankly small ones and able to be settled on the spot, accumulate and drag on forever. At some moment, quantity turns to quality. Explosive situations arise, where it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between that which is a justified grievance and that which is a demogogic claim, which someone can skillfully feed on. We must also take into account here that the basic mass among the strikers is made up of young people. They succumb to various inspirations, they operate in a way which is so characteristic for their age: emotional, impetuous, sometimes simply aggressive. Justifiably, this worries and angers. Above all, however, it ought to inspire a more penetrating analysis, to serious and thoughtful treatment of this phenomenon.

Against the backdrop of recent events, anxiety for the future of the reforms, for the fate of families, for Poland, has deepened. Sometimes, it takes one drop to make the bucket overflow.

The almost 40 million strong nation has an inalienable right to a feeling of security, to prospects for development. The party must rise to the demands of the occasion, mark out directions for solutions that are understandable to workers. How can we do this? There are those who call for meeting of the strikers' demands. Others ask: Why does the people's power not use the means indispensible for restoring the rule of law? The road does not lie this way. Our internal problems can in the long term be solved neither by the weapon of strikes nor by the application of coercion in relation to them. We will not waver in using the means envisioned by the law if the stability and the security of the socialist state are threatened. No one should have any doubts as to that. But in reaching for such means the people's power is not and cannot be premature. More than once in our history brother has stood against brother. Time passed and they have stood together. There are many old and new examples of this. We want this road to be victorious.

Comrades! Poland is paved with good resolutions. Basically, over the last few years there was not one resolution of the Central Committee that should today be revoked or passed over in silence by us. And yet, the situation is not good. Not so much in objective categories, for we have after all attained not a little. It is enough to reach back in our memory to 1981, to the extremely difficult conditions of the last few years. The point is, rather, subjective feelings.

Even if they appear simplified, they remain a social fact which we have to take into account and consider. We have decisively taken the road of economic reform. The first stage laid solid foundations. In practice, however, the dynamics of reform have been floundering in the mass of various subjective and objective restraints and difficulties. Passage to the second stage, whose basic premises are generally accepted and considered correct by international economic and financial organizations, has been disturbed by price and income operations. It upset the precarious balance and increased inflation. The party, seeing the worsening situation, first dealt with the domestic market. It came up with the proposal to take more stringent steps. The Sejm then approved extraordinary powers for the government. However, so far it has not resulted in visible changes.

On analyzing the effects of the government's socioeconomic policy, we must state that we were also not sufficiently consistent in the appreciation of its work. Breaking off with administrative management, we have not fully defined to the end the role of the party in the economoy and political methods of operation. Past decades provided disastrous examples of voluntarism [as heard] and arbitrary decision making.

Over the past several years, a great effort was made to remove such practices forever. However, this leads to another extreme: Before we make any decision, we ask the opinion of theoreticians and practitioners; we set up commissions and councils; we go out of the way in order not to miss even one individual consultant. Thus, against our will we have ended up with a kind of democratic type of liberum veto.

This procedure often serves as a pretext for various bureaucrats. The road to decisions is dragged out, that is true. Not every demand is correct or realistic; it often reflects only narrow interests. However, we will not forego carrying out consultations. Quite the opposite: We should make them more efficient and improve them. Simultaneously, we should understand that the not infrequently difficult choices made must be in accordance with the supreme general societal interest.

In the Politburo's report at the seventh plenum, I stressed with the greatest force that it is insufficient to have (?ones own) concept to make a correct decision. In order to gain respect, understanding, and trust it is necessary to translate it into language accessible to people; to convince them and check how it will be received by them. No one can relieve the government, ministers, and managers of their obligations. Nevertheless, the column of high- level functionaries goes out among the nation for meetings with workers and then generally only when they are afraid. We in the party are not used to criticizing the government from the rostrum of the Central Committee plenum. This always took place quietly in the family. We have ended this practice. The party is a political force representing the historical and contemporary interests of the workers. It is not, cannot be, and will not be a shadow cabinet. I can from this rostrum cite many objective difficulties and hinderances—external and internal—with which the premier and the Council of Ministers are struggling. I do not share the tendency well-known in Poland for centuries of hunting for scapegoats. We will never attain the appropriate level of political culture if honest people, who have in exceptionally difficult, and in fact quite extreme circumstances, given as much of themselves as they could. [sentence as heard] We will burden them with responsibility for everything that they did not manage to do, for not infrequently they even could not. But criticism of the government, justified in many respects, is a fact. It was heard strongly in the discussion, reflecting the opinion of many party organizations and also various social interests.

This has found particularly clear expression in the OPZZ declaration. The party, the Central Committee, does not substitute for the representative bodies in their sovereign decisions. Any changes should take place before the majesty of the law, in accordance with the principles of coalition cooperation.

On 31 August, the Sejm extraordinary commission for the Control and Initiation of the Economic Reform will assemble. We will place assessments resulting from our deliberations at its disposal. the PZPR Deputies' Club ought to be guided by them at the time when, on the basis of the Commission's report and also observations of the government's upcoming actions, the Sejm, at its September meeting, will assess its work and will decide whether it can continue to fulfill its mission. We see the need for further changes in the party leadership. They should be aimed, above all, in the direction of increasing the participation of the younger generation. At one of the upcoming plenary meetings, we will strive to present appropriate proposals.

Comrades. Our party, which was, and is, the promoter of progress, at present, in the eyes of some people, particularly young people, does not fulfill this role. This is of course a harmful and false view, born sometimes of impatience and sometimes of the hackneyed tune that the system is not reformable. Whoever wants to and knows how to look must admit that within barely a few—and how difficult they were—years, it is precisely our party which undertook the effort and did not depart from the road toward the deepest political and social reforms in the whole history of the Polish Peoples Republic. There is in fact not a single area of life which has not been changed. Legal and systemic institutions have been strengthened, which, only a few years ago, even the most hearty reformers did not foresee. Regardless of our harsh assessment of the shortcomings in the economic sphere, there is no doubt that, despite everything, they have an incidental character in relation to the historic scale of the transformations taking place. The reform grates, meets opposition, but after all, it is not possible to reverse it. The reform is quite simply a fact, and that it is not all that it could be is a different matter. And that is precisely what we are discussing.

Comrades! In accordance with the directives of the 10th congress, we are tending toward a thorough modificaton of the system of practicing power. The guidelines in this respect were formulated by the sixth and seventh Central Committee plenary sessions. We are open to all rational proposals. A great number of them are currently under discussion in various places and also in our—today so pluralistic—mass media. Matters of such weight cannot be decided in a hurry, but also we don't want to defer justified changes. (?So that) the conditions arrive more quickly whereby the Polish power system rests on a widened basis of national accord. The coalition forms of the Polish power system operating up to now can be supplemented by trends, associations and individual persons ready to cooperate on the basis of constitutional order. The extent of cooperation is an open matter: There is only one impassable boundary line—the socialist character and the development of our country.

In the near future I will turn to members of the Consultative Council—whose contribution to the development of patriotic state thought deserves high recognition—for them to consider the possibility of transforming this body into a Council for National Accord [Rada Porozumienia Narodowego—RPN]. This should surely be tied to an appropriate broadening of its composition and also a modification of its activities. The RPN, attaining the appropriate Sejm authorization, could prepare, at least in general outline, the drafts of reforms in the framework of the supreme state authorities, an agreed formula of social representation in the Sejm of the next term. The creation of a second chamber in our socialist parliament is being discussed. This matter cannot of course be decided upon beforehand. We do not however see obstacles to the creation of such a chamber. The role and attainments of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) cannot be undermined. In the most difficult moments for socialist Poland, it fulfilled an important, patriotic mission. PRON activites continue to serve the country well. Today, new ideas are coming from its ranks tending about a fundamental development of the level of national accord, about working from a significantly wider platform. We give them full support. This will be favoured by the registration of many more associatons. Here it is appropriate to recall that since the seventh plenum nearly 30 of them have been registered. And also the passing of a new law. A great attainment of socialist renewal is that the trade unions speak with their own, strong voice.

They have their own assessments and proposals for solutions, often contrary to the opinion of the state and economic administration. Let me stress this: If it is accompanied by a sense of responsibility, it is not a fault but an advantage. The party will support any solution which contributes to the growth of strength and successful operations of unions, at improving an early warning system, but it will oppose proposals which would damage the unity of the working class and introduce political struggle into enterprises. The experience of the distant and immediate past confirms the correctness of such fears. Once more we all see what it means and what threatens division among workers. Our stance does not result from doctrinal obsession; it is concern for the entire nation, the entire economic community. Therefore, we say: There is no freedom without a sense of responsibility.

There are various proposals worthy of consideration for broadening and supplementing organizational forms in the union movement. Comrade Alfred Miodowicz spoke about these. National accord is not an objective in itself, it is simply a proper road to the objective. And there is only one objective: the well-being and success of Poland. Strikes are diminishing. Just as we are far from hoisting a white flag, we are today far from striking triumphant notes. Tensions pass, problems remain. We are for resolving even the most difficult issues which pervade the community or some circles by way of patient dialogue. We repeat constantly: We do not ask where you come from; our hand is still outstreched. But the attitude of all or nothing has no chance. In our recent past, people who thought in this way, people who lived yesterday's dreams missed the train of history. They were left behind on an empty platform.

The idea of meeting around a roundtable, which was expressed in the speech made by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, will positively influence the establishment of dialogue. The word compromise is not well thought of in Poland. It often passes as the opposite to a principled stand. This is a mistaken view. Transformations worthy of attention are taking place within interests which not long ago frowned on reality, organized boycotts, and took a stand of complete opposition. We are carefully following further reevaluation processes.

The passage of time acts as a centrifugal force. On the one hand, it multiplies the rationally thinking, those who are guided by concern for the future of the Polish nation. On the other, it rejects incurably confrontational elements. It is time to give deeper consideration to the concept of opposition. Should we not recognize that there is a simple and logical division between constructive and destructive opposition? The first may well serve the country, the second does it irreversible harm. The foundation of all pacts unions, and coalitions can only be law and order. We do not avoid discussion as to its shape and adherance by state bodies. At the same time, we demand that all currents and socio-political forces also operate within the bounds of the law. If it becomes a brake on development, then it must be changed; but no one is allowed to break it.

Comrades, the stance of party members, the party activ, has contributed to the soothing and even elimination of certain conflicts. We thank them sincerely for this. I also direct these words to leading cadres who are demanding but also fair and sensitive. We direct expressions of deep appreciation to all nonparty members who, in difficult moments, are guided by a sense of responsibility for their workplace and country. A key matter now is for the whole party to go on the offensive: first, to extinguish all still existing tensions; to fully restore social order, the feeling of security, and conditions for normal work; second, to introduce a turn around in economic life and give (?realistic) momentum to the second stage of economic reform.

Third, in order to gain all the potential allies of reforms, to widen the level of national accord. Fourth there are evaluations for this offensive directions for action, and the decisions of today's plenum. It is necessary to immediately go with all these to all the voivodship, enterprise and territorial organizations, to the workforces. We begin with ourselves. Directly after the plenum all party leadership members, the Central Committee, will go to the largest work enterprises so as to enter into their problems, to jointly seek possibilities to resolve them, to resolve them, to resolve complaints and obstacles. That said, this cannot be a once and for all action, but it must be a system, a constant practice.

Comrades! In conclusion, allow me to share a more general reflection with you. We feel painfully all our difficulties and mistakes, but it is also true that never before in its modern history has Poland had such an unrepeatable historical chance as it has at the moment. We possess beneficial, inalienable borders, guaranteed by alliances, the potential of the human economy—that counts for a lot. We have entered onto the road of deep political and economic reforms. State-Church relations are finally developing successfully—they have particular significance for our nation. A realistic possibility has arisen for a great national accord. Favorable external conditions create a coincidence of our socialist renewal with Soviet perestroyka, with the current of deep transformations in the whole socialist community. This exceptional chance must not be wasted by us because of some—despite everything—mere incidents which, after years have passed, a historian would call a successive Polish paradox. It was precisely in Poland that we began to create conditions for renewal. Our party commenced this in extremely unfavorable circumstances. We undertook the practical implementation of original, often unprecedented, even pioneering solutions.

The course of our reforms is, therefore, observed with particular attention. At the same time, we have become a testing ground for various tricks, the source for arguments against reforms in socialism. There are also those forces which are trying once again to assign to Poland a special role. Maybe it is precisely here that they will succeed in undermining, braking, and compromising those processes; maybe it is precisely in Szczecin, which so sincerely and warmly received Mikhail Gorbachev, that it will be possible to demonstrate that the policy of reform and restructuring has feet of clay.

There are also reliable signals about the anxiety of our foreign partners, about the uncertainty regarding contracted supplies, about doubts concerning the reality of stabilization in Poland. Once again, unfriendly circles are beginning to talk about us as the terminally sick man of Europe. Every cold blast may cause a slowing down or simply a reverse in the beginning of positive transformations in East-West Relations. Sometimes only a pretext is needed. Our country has always been weighed down with a serious responsibility for the course of European politics. In the current situation, (?it is) doubtless greater than in the past. It is not our proverbial Polonocentrism that is important here. What is important is to make ourselves aware that our Polish affairs this time have a particular international weight, and yet, Poland can and should bring into the new relations in Europe and the world a univocally positive contribution, worthy of the traditions, potential, and aspirations of our nation.

Dear comrades, every one of us has his road in life. He would like to go down it with dignity, with a sense of fulfilled responsibility. My road is now a long and, putting it mildly, not an easy one. Recent years too, apart from satisfaction, have brought more than a little bitterness. But it is not this that is most important. What is really important is which road Poland will go down. I am deeply convinced that we will go steadfastly along the road of a renewed socialism which is close to people. The historic obligation of the party, its basic duty to the nation, is to make this road less rough, to accelerate imperative transformations. Knowledge will change nothing, but if we go on this trail persistently, against all obstacles, with iron determination, we will reach our goal quicker. It was, is, and will always remain a just, efficient, prosperous, socialist Poland.

Plenum Ends, Resolution Adopted

LD2808190888 Warsaw PAP in English
1834 GMT 28 Aug 88

[TExt] Warsaw, Aug. 28—The 8th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee has come to an end. The closing address to the gathering was delivered by Wojciech Jaruzelski. A resolution of the 8th PUWP CC plenary meeting has been adopted which firmly confirms the will to continue the policy of socialist renewal, of reforming the economy, of democratization and agreement. The Central Committee's stand is that Polish problems will be solved neither by hampering reforms, half-measures nor by futile negation, breaking the law and destruction.

Draft Resolution Presented

LD2808183388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] We are linking up with our correspondent from the Party Central Committee building:

[Unidentified correspondent] The seventh plenum [as heard] of the PZPR Central Committee is in progress. It is devoted to an assessment of the country's sociopolitical and economic situation and to the party's immediate tasks. Several minutes ago, Wojciech Jaruzelski, the first secretary of the Central Committee began his concluding speech.

Prior to this, participants of the deliberations discussed a draft resolution of the eighth plenum, presented by the Decrees and Resolutions Commission. It was pointed out that the Central Committee, with full force, confirms the will to continue the policy of socialist renewal, reform of the economy, democratization, and agreement. The draft speaks of tasks which were defined at the sixth and seventh plenary meetings, stressing that they must be fully implemented, that radical acceleration, decisiveness, and effectiveness are needed. It also stresses that it is necessary for everybody charged with carrying out these tasks to execute them strictly. There are three parts of the resolution. The first part is devoted to the problems of the present situation, the second part to economic problems, and the third to political problems.

The first part emphasizes that the Central Committee, with all severity, draw attention to the unfavorable development of the socioeconomic situation, to attempts to exploit anxieties arising against this background for the destabilization of the country's life, and to the undermining of the policy of accord.

In the second part of draft resolution concerning economic problems, the Central Committee states that the most urgent matter today, is mobilizing all forces to improve market supply, slow down price increase, and overcome threats to the population's living standards. In view of this, the most important tasks are firstly for the government to create conditions, directly execute decisons to increase supply, and ensure the continuous sale of basic food and industrial articles. Second the inflation spiral must be slowed down. It was decided by the overwhelming majority that this should be achieved not by way of another wage and price freeze, but by more efficient price control and income mechanisms.

Third, over the next fews months the plan for the consolidation of national economy should be prepared. The plan should present clear lines of socioeconomic policy with particular attention being directed toward overcoming the sources of inflation and strengthening money. Fourth, superflous regulations must be speedily eliminated and the legal system simplified.

In the third part of the resolution, the Central Committee reaffirms its will to continue democratic transformations in Polish political life and to develop civic freedoms and law and order. The Central Committee identifies the vital national political task as: building a coalition and (?establishing) pro-reform forces within that coalition and building cooperation among all those who understand the need for and want to actively participate in an improvement of the situation. These specific steps with the participation of PRON and [word indistinct] signatories, are acknowledged as the most important tasks.

The Central Committee decided to support the initiative to call a council for national accord, which would be made up of representatives of broad socio-political interests. It shares the position expressed in the declaration of the chairman of the comittee for Observing Law, Law and Order, and Public Discipline in the matter of immediately holding talks with representatives of various social and worker interests. The Central Committee also expressed strong support for the renewed Polish trade unions and expressed the will to strengthen their role as defenders of the professional and social working (?masses) and expand the guarantee [words indistinct].

It favors examining with trade unions implementation of those initiatives which enrich the model of the workers movement in Poland. It addresses the expectations of workers and, at the same time, it does not lead to divisions and to the (?generation) of political conflicts in work enterprises.

In fact, the resolution emphasizes that it is necessary to strengthen worker self-management and self-management in higher education establishments, to create greater opportunities to develop academic potential among students.

Finally, attention is drawn to the need for a more decisive and effective battle with bureaucracy, the consistent liquidation of manifestations of souless (?Polish) [words indistinct] improvement in the functioning of public services. The Central Committee demands the speedy conclusion of the territorial reforms [words indistinct] of state administration.

In the conclusion of the draft resolution of the eighth plenum, the Central Committee calls on all citizens, all social interests, and members of organizations and associations to actively support actions aimed at halting unfavorable tendencies in order to triumph over the crisis and open the roads to socio-economic development. The fate of Poland depends on us all, reads the draft resolution.

Solidarity Spokesman on Jaruzelski Speech

LD2808211488 Hamburg DPA in German 2035 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—In first comment on the speech made by party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, Solidarity spokesman Adam Michnik said this evening that the speech left everything open. It contained both realistic and conservative elements; no clear offer, but also no threats. Everything depends on the balance of power in the party. In this respect, there is no cause for optimism. The proposal for a council of national reconciliation was very general, but should be thoroughly thought through.

Politburo Admits Failure of Economic Policy

AU2608113588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] On 23 August, the PZPR Politburo reviewed the sociopolitical and economic situation of Poland.

Threats to the normal functioning of the economy and state are continuing. Economic losses are mounting. In many spheres the losses are already too big to be made up. Poland's prestige and economic credibility in international relations have suffered greatly.

The difficult living conditions and the justified criticism and postulates addressed to the authorities do not warrant violations of the law and disruption in production, transportation, and foreign trade. The Politburo expects that the assessments, remedial measures, and warnings presented by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the Council of Ministers' Committee for the Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, will be received with understanding by citizens who are concerned about the dangerous development of the situation.

The Politburo expressed profound concern over the continuing shortage of various market commodities, the threat to the standard of living of some social groups, and the glaring wage disproportions that are not justified by work input, as well as over the prices and incomes policy that is being implemented. This policy brought hopes that conditions for a more efficient functioning of the mechanisms of the reform would be created. However, the basic objectives of this policy have not been attained. Inflation has increased and supplies of consumer goods have deteriorated.

The Politburo criticized the results of the economic activities being implemented. It stressed that the current situation calls for a consistent enhancement of the reforms, a bold modification of solutions, and the removal of those solutions that have turned out to be faulty and ineffective.

The Politburo considered overcoming the threat to the population's standard of living, an improvement to market supplies, and a halt to the inflation spiral as the most urgent tasks. At the same time, dissatisfaction with this state of affairs may and should be used for the sake of a more determined reform of the economy and an increase, not decrease, of the country's assets.

It is necessary to urgently prepare a package of emergency measures and program of consolidating the national economy. These must take the form of a clear concept of restructuring the system of economic functioning and a clear, understandable line of socioeconomic policy.

Further changes in the economy must be based on a strong foundation of the most broadly understood national accord and on unfailing cooperation with the allied parties. For a long time now, the PPR authorities have been offering to set up a patriotic coalition of pro-reformist forces. This offer was reaffirmed and expounded at the Seventh Central Committee Plenum.

We will boldly continue in this direction. The line of accord and reform is unquestionable. We observe an important role along this road for the Roman Catholic Church, confirmed by the communique from the meeting between the State Council chairman and the primate of Poland.

The Politburo appeals to all working people to understand the difficult situation of the country and the economy during the transitional period of the reforms and to step up their concern for their work establishments and for the national property entrusted to them.

It asks trade unions to tackle matters relating to the work and standard of living of their work forces energetically and effectively.

Self-management bodies, elected in a democratic procedure of worker representation, may and should exert increasingly effective influence on a better functioning of enterprises.

Reformist transformations are a movement open to all, to every generation of working people. Young people and their organizations have a major role to play in the transformations. They should make use of all the possibilities presented by the reforms. In activity, especially socioeconomic activity, the party counts on the experience and soberness of work veterans.

Inspection bodies and the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate, backed by political and social organizations, must firmly combat all wrongdoing, bureaucracy, soullessness, haste, and neglect in one's approach to citizens' affairs.

The Politburo acknowledged and expressed its respect for the party members and aktivs, enterprise managements, and millions of working people who had retained and still retain a patriotic civic attitude during a difficult time for the country.

The Politburo adopted the text of a letter addressed to all members of the party. In it the Politburo obliged all party cells and organizations and all party members to:
—Counteract attempts to stir up illegal strikes;
—Set an example of a feeling of responsibility for the state of their enterprises and the national economy as a whole, guiding themselves by the principles of the rule of law;
—Defend the reforms, combat bureaucracy, and represent the real interests of the working class and all working people;

—Indicate and take an active part in solving the problems that cause social tensions;
—Cooperate in undertaking efforts to restore a normal situation in plants and public calm.

The Politburo decided to convene an Eighth Central Committee Plenum in the immediate future.

'Abridged' Sadowski Statement

LD2808022888 Warsaw PAP in English 0122 GMT 28 Aug 88

["Statement of Vice-Premier Sadowski (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—In the beginning Vice-Premier Sadowski described as wrong the viewpoint suggested by one of the discussants that government members stick to their posts and will defend them. I will not, he said, evade personal responsibility for what I am responsible for, that is for the proceedings of the government committee for implementation of economic reform during 15 months and for the proceedings of the planning committee during 10 months. I wish to say that I have no reason to be ashamed of the effects of the work of both these organs during that time, but it is not me to evaluate.

It is clear that there is a discrepancy or divergence between the course of real reformatory processes and their evaluation and social reception. The problem is not new. In all we do there is a real layer and a layer which I call psycho-social reception. The lack of programme is not the cause of the above-mentioned divergence. I am tempted to say that we have too many programmes.

Our Polish feature, well-known from our history, is that we want to quickly change everything we do. I make my life's motto out of the desire to fight against this feature, so that we can longer and more determinedly, in a longer time, hold onto an adopted programme.

To me, such a programme is the programme of the 2nd stage of the reform. It was very long and carefully prepared, expanded by the vast social dispute and the referendum, decisions on the grounds of government, party, and Sejm. I will report on the state of its implementation in a few days time at a meeting of the extraordinary Sejm committee appointed to monitor the reformatory processes.

We often meet with the reproach that there are too many legislative moves in it, whereas there is nothing for people. First, the programme was constructed for a longer period, as it happens with every similar structure, it must be preceeded by drafts, at first initial ones, and later on—implementation drafts, then executive drafts—ever more detailed, and finally it must be put into force.

During the first six months, of course, predominant are drafting and legislative works. But it isn't true that already now, one cannot speak about results reached "on the run" in the effect of these moves. When we look at it from the point of view of the systemic goals of this programme, of which one can name some 20, to begin with the primary aim which is the growth of goods and services supplies, via the development of initiative, innovation to the streamlining of investment processes, development of pro-export orientation etc., there is not a single element in which we would not reach some progress in the preparation and implementation of these solutions.

All the time we can hear demands to liquidate invaliable economic subjects. It is observable in our society that all that has been perfected stops being counted. All that has changed in our country in the course of reform is regarded by everybody as normalcy. And that is good, it should be like this but one should be aware of it.

We are very sensitive to any shortages, to all what is lacking but this does not mean that there is no progress in the reforming. I shall voice this opinion not only as long as I am vice-premier of the government but also when I return to scientific work as this is an objective truth.

The process of reforming must be necessarily viewed in such a perspective in which it takes place and not from the angle of even the worst but fragmented developments. Of course, we have a very bad market situation now. This blinds the people to everything and this is understandable. One cannot say even for a while that things are good. Things are very bad. A rapid deterioration has taken place and it begins to seem that nothing is going on whatsoever.

Reforming is a long process, however, and from the point of view of this process, what is taking place now is an incident—painful, unpleasant, pitiful one, one that is stemming from many various reasons, including mistakes—but only an incident. We have no grounds to think that this is a catastrophe in which we plunge and are sinking, because it is not so.

The key issue which emerges in this context is the failure of the price-income operation. This price jump proved to be unsuccessful in many respects. But this is not a runaway inflationary process, or hyperinflationary process. One must remember that threats come not only from the economic sphere but also from this highly linked and mutually dependent socio-political sphere. The thing is that the course of economic processes depends to a very large extent also on what the political situation and solutions are and vice versa. These are two domains of activity which interact all the time.

Taking everything into consideration I must say that the programme of the second stage of the economic reform is implemented in an exceptionally consistent manner.

There is no reason to charge the implementation of this programme with inconsistency in view of what has been written down in it. This is binding from the point of view of the government and has been confirmed by the Sejm decision. Of course, this can be revised if there are sufficient grounds for it.

On the other hand, one can consider whether the timetable of these actions is accurate or whether some actions can be speeded up. We heard many different postulates and demands here today, like the one to speed up economic restructuring. We have three interdependent processes: reforming, bringing equilibrium and changing the structure, that is restructuring the economy. All these three things must be done at the same time. We have failed to bring equilibrium this year. We do not give up these actions. There were various charges but the true image is as follows: Both demand and supply have been shaken.

There is an extremely hard-to-control phenomenon. At the same time there was indeed some regression in relation to the previous year in the field of supplies and production of market goods. We can explain some phenomena right away but some are surprising.

As regards some charges it should be remembered where are the main reasons of inflation and that we have difficulties in developing production. These main reasons have structural causes inherited from the past. If we had commanded these 900 billion zlotys annually which must go for the debt servicing, there would have not been such a situation in market supplies. One could ask: Then why are we paying back so much. We do so to quicker get out of this halter because we are still in the situation where the unpaid interest grows and enhances the debt. Are we not able to get out of it? We are and we will, if we act consistently. Complete repayment and stopping the growth of the debt is one of the basic directions of our strategy. But we cannot do it at the expense of the market. We try to take up all actions in such a way that exports and market supplies may grow at the same time. Such is the philosophy of this strategy but its materialisation is very difficult. There are moments when exports are run well and then occur signs of disturbance in the market supplies. We move in with additional measures just as we decided, using our special powers, that reduction cannot be granted in exchange for exports if market production goes down. This is an example that we try to respond quickly.

Re-restructuring takes place in several aspects. One of them is change in the investment policy, introduced since the beginning of this year. No self-respected economic politician can build his plans only on a several-month prospect. We must necessarily bear in mind what will happen next. We map out the general direction towards relieving the economy from long-cycle capital-intense investment. But indeed, we have such a solution only in our long-range plan which is ready up to the year 2000.

For some time now, the government has been realizing postulates concerning speedy activities. Among actions taken up within the frames of special powers, there are very many of them. There are regulations aimed at the growth of market supplies, there are some regulations focused on anti-inflationary moves.

Advanced are the matters related to limiting the investments, although surely, one could do more about it. There are matters related to the price-income discipline in economic units. Among activities undertaken within the frames of special powers there are matters related to recalling or suspending directors and managers of cooperatives in effect of breaching rational economic relations. I agree with a statement made at today's plenum that these actions must be speeded up but we are not giving them up by any means.

The fact that only five directors have been recalled so far does not mean that the problem is over. On the contrary, cases of another 65 directors are being examined.

As concerns fusion, division, liquidation and bankruptcy of enterprises, very much as been already done. Proposed divisions concern 279 enterprises and I want to ensure you that there is not a single case which would not evoke protests.

212 such enterprises have already been liquidated and we have at our disposal a far more ample list of candidates and the same story is repeating again. These are very difficult moves. I must say that if anyone accused (us) of incompetence I would not share this opinion as one cannot say that the liquidation of a large enterprise is an easy thing to do, one which can be decided over a short period.

We try to organize the labour market and principles of work in such a way as would not force us to reach for the instrument of unemployment. I cannot say whether we shall succeed in it.

One of the important changes in our economic life is change of the charater, role, and methodology of central planning. This change has already brought about far-going results on the direction of financial-material planning, with a strong emphasis on its financial part, which has not been done before. This is an evolution that we try to enhance and the same character was given to the already existing draft annual plan for 1989.

It provides for a serious phasing out of the process of price and wages growth. It has two variants. In one of them the annual rate of retail prices growth without the overlapping effects would be about 16 percent and in the other, even about 5-6 per cent.

Both variants need a very careful description. The variant with price increase under 5-6 per cent is of course linked with a very sharp limitation of the growth of monetary incomes of the people. We keep having to do with the same problem and we will keep having it long because this is a structural problem. A rapid halt in the pace of incomes growth has in itself this single load which always causes doubts as a direction of activities. This is associated with the lack of appropriate motivation for greater production. If we sharply slow down the growth of incomes, we cannot afford strong motivation and this is our problem we grapple with this year.

Such is the picture which I shall sum up once again by saying that all we are going to do later this year must be associated and viewed in the perspective of the years to come. Only in a long perspective can we have an adequate image of what we really want, namely, the major change of the country's economic structure, he concluded.

Majka Speaks on Social Criticisms

LD2808224988 Warsaw PAP in English
2144 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 28—The present plenary meeting of the CC was a continuation of the 7th plenum and was of a character of a control assessment, carried out while in March [sentence as received]. The tense situation in the country only accelerated its convening, stated Jerzy Majka, a CC member and editor-in-chief of the TRYBUNA LUDU daily during a press conference. Excerpts:

A critical and self-critical analysis of the current social tensions was carried out in the reports and discussions. One should seek their causes in a deterioration of the market situation in Poland as well as an intensification of inflationary processes. It was pointed out that these are the basic causes and that they were a good soil for the inspirers of the strikes who capitalized on negative social moods.

The activities of the government were critically assessed in many addresses. In this respect discussed were the results—different from those envisaged—of the price-income operation. The too slow action and too slow reactions of the government were also pointed to. At the same time a common disapproval was expressed for strikes as an instrument which only adds to destruction and a deepening of economic difficulties.

The inspirers of the strikes were also condemned from the rostrum. Many addresses stressed that the activists of former "Solidarnosc" have not learned a thing during many years, that aside from destruction they have nothing to propose.

Further Reportage on the '30-Lecia PRL' Strike

No Response to Appeal

LD2608162888 Warsaw PAP in English
1437 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug 26—So far, an appeal by chairman of the higher mining office Jerzy Malara, broadcast by the Polish radio in Katowice yesterday, has met with no response. He called on miners in the "30-Lecia PRL" ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"] mine to stop their strike and to solidarily join in the action of rescuing the mine. An explosion can take place at any moment and can result in incalculable consequences.

Rescue Groups Work Overnight

LD2608163488 Warsaw PAP in English
1438 GMT 26 Aug 88

["Uninterrputed Rescue Action in '30-Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"]' mine"—PAP headline]

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 26—The most dramatic situation still prevails in the "30 Years of People's Poland" mine and a rescue action is under way there in the 340/2 bed.

Nine rescue groups and auxiliary teams worked overnight. A total of 180 people are now working under the conditions of a very serious threat to their lives. They are fulfilling their duties under the conditions of fire threat and the great likelihood of a methane explosion.

Rescue Operations Continue

LD2608201988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Dispatch from Katowice by reporter Piotr Karmanski]

[Excerpts] The rescue operation 580 meters down in the "30 Years of People's Poland" mine is continuing. Eight rescue teams are working. [passage omitted] A group of about 50 strikers are still down the mine. The appeal from Jerzy Malara, president of the Higher Office of Mining, requesting the miners to end the strike, is having no effect.

An atmosphere of anxious waiting reigns at the Jastrzebie mine. It can be seen in the behavior of people who have succeeded in getting to their workplace, since the (?numbers) of employees have been limited in the past few days; and in the behavior of the women standing at the gate, who perhaps still remember the dramatic events of 8 years ago. [passage omitted] This morning, a group of 30 strikers left the Jastrzebie mine premises announcing their wish to return to work. This phenomenon has been observed for several days now, but the strike, although fewer and fewer people are taking part, still goes on.

The situation in the "Manifest Lipcowy" ["July Manifesto"] mine is not changing. About 150 people are occupying the entrance gate. [passage omitted] Attempts to hold talks have so far proved fruitless. Everything is in deadlock. [passage omitted]

Urban Says Force To Be Used

LD2708100088 Hamburg DPA in German 0920 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban, today pointed out the dramatic situation in the strike-bound "30 Years People's Poland" (Trzydziestolecie PRL) mine in Jastrzebie which could force the government to use force. The danger of fire and explosion in the mine is growing. The rescue teams will have to move heavy equipment to the pit which has been specially imported from the Soviet Union. However, the strikers refuse to allow this equipment and the rescue teams into the pit.

"We are facing a difficult dilemma," Urban told DPA by telephone. "We do not wish to use force. But at this moment one will have to use force. If we do not then we shall fail to meet our state duty to work against the destruction of the mine, and even possibly to save human life." Fifty striking miners are inside the pit which is threatened by methane gas and fire.

In addition Urban made it clear that the offer of talks by Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak only appeals to workers' leader Lech Walesa when the latter stops his strike. In reply to a relevant question Urban said that Kiszczak's offer applies to everyone who observed the law. Excluded are those people "who have not stopped their strike."

PAP Update

LD2708104688 Warsaw PAP in English 1007 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 27—Group of miners continue to strike in the "Manifest Lipcowy" ["July Manifesto"], "Jastrzebie" and "30-Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"]" coal mines in Silesia.

In the latter mine, the situation has dramatically worsened because of technical conditions. 25 rescue workers building a stopping are in an area of highest danger of fire. There is need for the delivery, to the colliery, of heavy duty rescue equipment which must be transported in an unconstrained manner.

TU Official Appeals to Miners

LD2708124788 Warsaw Domestic Service In Polish 1145 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] During today's discussions at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the floor was taken by Zbigniew Hanff, member of the Central Committee and Trade Union chairman at the Staszic colliery in Katowice. Here is an excerpt from his dramatic speech:

[Begin Hanff recording] I take the floor with a heavy heart. Allow me to inform you about the dramatic situation which has evolved today at the "30-Lecie" colliery in Jastrzebie. As a result of a powerful escape of methane, a terribly dangerous explosive mixture of gases has been created there. An automatic, devastating explosion, with incalculable consequences, can occur at any moment. At any moment, the miners down below can be killed. At any moment, the mine can be destroyed. Yet the strikers are not allowing in the necessary, vital, heavy plant, which is being hurried to the rescue.

I am an old miner. With a heavy heart, but with hope, I appeal in the name of the miners, members of the Central Committee of our party, to the strikers. Open your eyes! Come to your senses! We appeal for common sense. The seriousness of the situation orders everything else to be set aside—that is, the cause of the conflict— in order to open the road immediately to saving the life of our brothers, work companions, and to rescue our common Polish property! [end recording]

More on Rescue Work

LD2708145588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1415 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Over now to our Katowice correspondent Stanislaw Soltysik:

We have been reporting for several hours now about the dramatically worsening situation in the 30-Lecie PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"] colliery in Jastrzebie. This is one of the three pits where some of the workforce is still on strike. Literally with every minute the danger is growing. A tragedy can happen at any minute. Meanwhile, the rescue operation at the mine is being carried out in very difficult conditions. The life of specialists is in danger. The rescue workers are wearing oxygen equipment. The strikers, by blockading the gate and shafts, are making it impossible to speed up the action. That is at the 30-Lecie PRL colliery—the Manifest Lipcowy ["July Manifesto"] and Jastrzebie mines are also under great threat. [passage omitted]

In the early afternoon the strikers occupying the 30-Lecie mine allowed rescue operations to continue. At 1530, specialist rescue equipment, essential to save the mine, including so-called mining technical aggregate, was allowed on to the mine premises. It was not taken below ground via the second shaft as this is one of the shafts which is still blocked. There is only one shaft open at the 30-Lecie mine, but it is not capable of accepting the equipment, and the second shaft is still blocked. Talks are in progress. The strike has not yet been discontinued.

'Catastrophe' Threatens Mine

LD2708173288 Warsaw PAP in English 1623 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 27—Continuous readings of methane levels are being conducted with the use of computers at the "30-Lecia PRL" [30 Years of People's Poland] mine.

The readings indicate a constant and dangerous rise in the gas-air mixture. In the fire situation at the mine and as a result of the so-called strike committee blocking the use of the right scope of preventive measures, there is a threat that a catastrophe of unpredictable consequences could occur at the mine at any moment.

A fire-extinguishing operation is being continued at the 580 level in the 340/2 bed. Nine rescue teams from various mines are building four gypsum anti-explosion dams under most difficult conditions and at a high risk to their lives. Their operation is to last several hours.

Strikers Called to Leave Mine

LD2708173888 Warsaw PAP in English 1637 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 27—Col Stanislaw Wozniak [not further identified] made a statement to the strikers at the "30-Lecia PRL" [30 Years of People's Poland] mine through the mediation of priests.

If all the strikers leave the mine, no one will be apprehended and no coercive measures will be used. The district prosecutor authorized Wozniak to assure the strikers that only preparatory proceedings would be started in relation to the leaders of the illegal strike committee who will be questioned soon and that these proceedings would be conditionally suspended within the limits of law. The only condition is that all the strikers leave the mine and allow the operation of rescuing the mine and the people inside it to be conducted.

Strikers Still in Mine 27 Aug

LD2708183188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Excerpts] News as of this moment:

Considering the threat of fire in our mine, which has continued since the days before the strike, the enterprise strike committee of the 30-Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"] mine, after assurances by the director of the mine and the security services guaranteeing the strikers' safety, at 1900 [1700 GMT] on 27 August ended their occupation. [passage omitted]

We have now found out the state of affairs as of 2000. Despite the statement by the strike committee, the group of striking miners at the 30-Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"] mine has not left the premises of the mine.

Strikers Leave Grounds

LD2708191388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1858 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] And a piece of news at the last moment: at 2000 [1800 GMT] today, the group of striking miners at the 30-Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"] mine left the enterprise grounds. Equipment indispensible for further rescue work has begun to be transported down the mineshaft.

Strike Ends 27 Aug

LD2808003488 Warsaw PAP in English 2243 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 27—The sit-in strike ended definitely in the 30-Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"] colliery in Jastrzebie Zdroj at 2035 hrs (Warsaw time) [1835 GMT] as the last striking miners left the mines premises.

The decision to end the strike was taken after discussions among striking miners who blocked shaft no 2 barring heavy rescue equipment from being taken down the pit.

The collierys strike committee issued a statement which said: "In connection with the danger of fire in our mine continuing from the pre-strike period, the works committee after having been assured by the mines management and law- enforcement forces of the security to be provided for the strikers ends the sit-in strike on August 27 at 1900 hrs. This statement must be announced in full in mass media still today."

In the early afternoon the strikers who occupied the mine had made it possible to continue and expand rescue operation in so far as they let a convoy of trucks with heavy specialized rescue equipment, a shipment of gypsum and rescuers enter the premises of the colliery, but barred the rescue equipment from being taken down the pit.

The situation in the colliery was very dangerous all the day today as the content of hydrogene exceeded one per cent at times changing periodically along with the content of methane and other gases which testified to burning out of methane or local explosions. The explosive mixture could have moved which might have resulted in the necessity to immediately evacuate rescue workers for safety reasons.

The staff of the rescue operation had asked the central mining rescue station in Bytom to provide them with the specialized equipment for burning out oxygen which would prevent the formation of the explosive mixture and replace it with neutral gases in the danger zone.

Since the strikers barred the technical services and the proper amount of equipment from entering the mine, this equipment had to be carried over the fence.

The manager of the 30-Lecia colliery said that a failure to carry out the rescue operation of a required scope could have produced disastrous consequences, including a halt in coal extraction even for several months.

At noon representatives of the diocesan curia in Katowice arrived at the colliery presenting the striking miners with a message from Katowice Bishop Damian Zimon which referred to an earlier appeal addressed to the miners.

The priests said that the bishop was sure that the miners were aware of the responsibility for the common good which the colliery was for everyone and would make it possible for all technical means necessary to liquidate the danger to enter the mine.

The group of striking miners made it possible for the specialized equipment for oxygen burning to enter the premises of the mine but some 40-60 miners were still staying 580 metres underground blocking the operation of one of the shafts. With only one ventilation shaft operating the intensive rescue operation was still impossible.

The strike ended at 2035 as the last striking miners left the pit.

Other Strikes Continue

LD2808083988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] As we reported yesterday the sit-in strike in the 30-Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"] mine in Jastrzebie Zdroj definitely ended. The strikers left the mine. The strikes in the Manifest Lipcowy ["July Manifesto"] and Jastrzebie mines are still continuing.

In the Szczecin Port the strikers broke off talks on ending the strike, as Jerzy Urban, the government press spokesman, informed. The lawyer Sil-Nowicki tried to mediate there with the strikers but that proved to be ineffective.

The strikes in the Lenin shipyard as well as the northern and repairs shipyards and also in the first and fourth sector of the Gdansk Port are continuing.

The situation in Stalowa Wola continues to remain unchanged where the sit-in strike is being continued.

Rescue Workers Fight Blaze

LD2808175388 Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 28—Rescue workers continue to fight a blaze at the "30 Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"]" coal mine in Jastrzebie. If there is no radical change in the situation, then rescue teams are to finish the construction of a stronghold separating the dangerous area from the rest of the mine during today's third shift.

The closure of the fire area in different points must take place in the same moment. This dangerous operation will be carried out on Monday morning. Rescuemen have already unblocked three of the pit shafts that enabled the intensification of transportation of necessary equipment.

According to an evaluation of the technical state and the mining and geological conditions, the mine will reach its full production capacity not earlier than in four days.

Warsaw: 'Sigh of Relief'

LD2808112988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Over to our correspondent in Katowice.

[Unidentified correspondent] We have heaved a sigh of relief not only in Silesia, I think, after all those hours of great tension and danger caused by the situation at the 30-Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"] mine in Jastrzebie. As we have already reported a group of miners striking on the surface and below the surface of this mine left premises after 2000 yesterday. [passage omitted] About 200 miners on the first shift today are already carrying out inspections. The losses are being estimated and attempts are being made to start up equipment which was at a standstill during the strike. This is very difficult work demanding time and costing money. Rescuers fitted out with specialist equipment who will assess the threat and will try to remove it must first reach many areas of the mine. Top experts, including rescue workers, have also gone below today at the two mines still on strike—the Manifest Lipcowy ["July Manifesto"] and Jastrzebie. However, their number is a bit too small to undertake any safety provision work—barely 111 at the Manifest Lipcowy mine and even fewer in Jastrzebie. At the most they can carry out local inspections and observations. The self-styled strike committees are still not granting permission for the descent of a large group of experts.

This morning at the Jastrzebie mine, prelininary talks were held on technical conditions for ending the strike, but in the meantime it is going on at these two mines. Smaller and smaller groups of miners are taking part in them.

[Announcer] Now over to Szczecin:

[Unidentified correspondent] [passage omitted] The talks broken off at Szczecin Port before noon yesterday have still not been resumed.

[Announcer] And now over to Gdansk:

[Pawlowski] Nothing has changed since yesterday afternoon I'm sorry to say—I mean, of course, those establishments where groups of workers are still on strike. So much from the tri-city about the situation at the Gdansk shipyard and the Gdansk trading port which has not changed unfortunately for several dozen hours. Compared to the total number of the workforce at these establishments the number of people still on strike is not numerous.

Further Reportage on Strikes in Jastrzebie

'Force Not Used' To End Strike

LD2608215888 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 26—The strike in the "Borynia" colliery in Jastrzebie-Zdroj had involved not more than 150 people.

After unsuccessful appeals of the manager who asked the strikers on August 24 to leave the mine, at 1810 hrs a 130-strong group of mining activists entered the colliery. At the same time law enforcement services moved in and unlocked the main gate. Following a brief persuasion the illegal strikers left the mine.

Force was not used, none of the strikers was harmed, "Borynia" manager Jan Myrczek said. The role of law enforcement troops was confined to keeping order when the strikers were coming out. The illegal sit-in strike ended at 1820 and the third shift got the mine going again.

Negotiations Resume

LD2808145388 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 28—Negotiations between the management and the illegal strike committee over the possible conclusion of the strike are being held today in the Jastrzebie colliery in Jastrzebie. This is the second round of talks. During the first one the strikers presented a modified list of demands limited to 12 points concerning the mine's internal issues. There are priests present in the mine.

Strike Ends

LD2808172288 Warsaw PAP in English 1642 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 28—A decision to end a strike at the "Jastrzebie" mine in Jastrzebie Zdroj, southern Poland, was made at 1800 hrs today after the third meeting between the mine's management and the strike committee.

Mines Damaged

LD2608202588 Warsaw PAP in English 1645 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 26—Three walls are threatened at the 407-metre and 510-metre beds in the "Jastrzebie" mine. The falls of the roof and the side wall, rising pressure and clamping the lining were stated beyond any doubt. Last night, the strikers let only 18 persons go down the mine to carry out rescue work.

The roof may fall down any time at one wall in the "Manifest Lipcowy" ["July Manifesto"] mine. Yesterday, the strikers did not let anybody go down the colliery to prevent these threats. The illegal strike committee of the "Manifest Lipcowy" mine said that he who enters the mine would not be let out, the miners still do not want to enter this strike trap.

Last Strikers Leave

LD2808200188 Warsaw PAP in English 1914 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 28—After signing an agreement at 1830 hrs today between the management of the "Jastrzebie" coal mine and the crew's strike committee, following the 11-day illegal strike, the last strikers have left the premises of the colliery.

To date, the losses in the mine's production have amounted to 100,000 tons of coal. Five longwalls are estimated to be a danger of caving. The next few days will be devoted to restoring normal extraction conditions.

Already today, initial preparatory works will be carried out. On Monday August 29 the colliery will resume production.

Work Resumes

LD2908072588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Today, work has been resumed at the Jastrzebie colliery. Manifest Lipcowy ["July Manifesto"] is still not working. The situation on the coast is unchanged.

Stalowa Wola Steelworks Strike Continues

Management Halts Work

LD2608151788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] The press spokesman of the Stalowa Wola Steelworks reports that today the management of the enterprise decided to halt work in all departments, with the exception of those in continuous operation, in order to prepare organizationally for the combine's normal work after the strike.

Strikers Request Episcopate Contact

LD2708150988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] One more piece of news about the situation in the Stalowa Wola Steelworks from correspondent Andrzej Danczyszek.

The occupation strike is continuing in the Stalowa Wola Steelworks. After the management informed the strikers of the text of the declaration of General Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the Council of Ministers' Committee for the Adherance of Law, Order, and Public Discipline, representatives of the striking group requested the facilitation of contacts for them concerning this matter with the Polish Episcopate. Contact via telex was made possible for them today.

Work To Resume 29 Aug

LD2808163488 Warsaw PAP in English 1520 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Rzeszow, Aug 28—The management of the Stalowa Wola steel mill made a decision today to resume work in all departments and organizational units of the works as of Monday.

The decision was made despite the continued strike in sections of the tool-room, one of the repair sections, the iron foundry and two production departments of the mechanical factory in which the total of some 550 persons take part.

Strike Ends at Moszczenica Mine; Miners Leave

LD2708121488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Now over to our reporters in the regions. Hello Stanislaw Soltysik in Katowice.

[Soltysik] The strike by part of the workforce at three mines in the Jastrzebie-Rybnik coal community is still on. The most difficult, outright dramatic situation is at the 30-Lecia mine, where there is a fire at one of the faces. [passage omitted] The danger is intensified by the fact that it is in the region of the one working shaft of the 30-Lecia mine. The materials essential for the contruction of barriers and the people going down to the rescue operation descend by this shaft. The remaining shafts are unfortunately blocked by the strikers, as is the mine gate. [passage omitted]

A piece of last-minute news: After the end of the strike in the Moszczenica colliery, about 20 striking miners remained underground. Today, they left the premises of the plant voluntarily.

Coking Plant Suffers Losses From Strikes

LD2608213988 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Opole, Aug. 26—The "Zdzieszowice" coking plant, the Opole Voivodship, has been gradually increasing production, the enterprise's vice-director Wieslaw Staszowski reported.

Over the past five days the plant reached only 50 percent of its production capacity. The supplies of coal for the production of blast furnace coke were not regularly provided by mines "30-Lecia PRL ["30 Years of the Polish People's Republic"]," "Manifest Lipcowy" ["July Manifesto"] and "Moszczenica."

According to preliminary estimates last week's production losses of the plant mounted to about 30 million zlotys. During five days "Zdzieszowice" produced 11 thousand tons of coke less than planned.

Spokesman Denies Use of Force To End Strikes

LD2808004388 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—Is this true what the rumours say that the strikes in several mines were ended with the use of force by the law enforcement units and what is police doing round the enterprises on strike, PAP asked press spokesman for the Internal Ministry Major Wojciech Garstka today. Garstka replied:

The reinforcement of the outer protection of some work establishment had been publicly announced by Minister of Internal Affairs General Czeslaw Kiszczak in his televised speech Monday, August 22. The decision was taken in accordance with the powers of the internal minister. The law defines them clearly and unequivocally. It provides for ensuring peace and order in the vicinity of plants where worker groups are on strike, to guarantee protection of national property, and to prevent provocation and manipulation involving the workers. Nobody was making a secret out of the police presence around those plants, the press reported on that, he said.

In the port of Szczecin, for instance, at its vast area, attempts of theft and smuggling were foiled as the perpetrators were sure of chaos and laxness. Emissaries with leaflets tried to filter through into most striking enterprises. In many cases they normally had nothing in common with those plants. An example for such actions is Junior Research Worker in the SGGW-AR Farming College Dr Gabriel Janowski, who was detained when trying to get into one of the collieries.

Protection was provided to the office of the port management in order to keep a safe access to work under attempts of its blockade with a crane and intimidation by the strike activists.

In some cases the police protected those who wanted to work and in this connection were exposed to harassment.

In the Szczecin city transport depots the law enforcement forces, asked by the management, appealled to the participants in an illegal strike to leave the place. Nearby waited large groups of employees demanding access to work. I want to stress this fact. For since the beginning of this wave of strikes we have been coming across evident pressure from many social milieux demanding decisive action, disagreeing with the inactivity of law enforcement units, and the impunity of initiators of the illegal strikes. So it is, for example, now when we are talking, in the Struga Street depot in Szczecin. Preventive actions of the police are well received by many inhabitants of those towns where it came to strikes.

I must say with sorrow and indignation that in several cases we have discovered schemes of the strikers and persons supporting them from outside to find fictitious victims and stir a propaganda row around them. Such is the demand of propaganda subversion centres in the West. As there was a shortage of facts and persons to quote, they used deceptive phrases like "reports are reaching us on brutal ZOMO [Citizens Militia Motorized Reserves] crackdowns on the strikes" (RFE said that August 24, the revelation was repeated by Radio France Internationale two days later, and on the same day by the V.O.A.). On August 23 RFE, and the BBC radio the next day, broadcast "news" from Poland quoting "independent sources." RFE said literally on August 24: "It came to a brutal action of ZOMO Tuesday night in the Lenin colliery at Myslowice. We have a report," authors in RFE said, "speaking of many people injured, many of them seriously...."

Contrary to those insinuations, the law enforcement units never used direct force. Even when escorting out strikers using passive resistance at the Goledzinow depot, they acted softly, causing no injuries.

Representatives of the leadership of the Internal Ministry frequently informed the public that using the law enforcement troops is regarded as the last resort used only in extreme situations sparked by extremists, when human life and health or public property of great value is at risk.

Let me stress that in all cases, during the present strikes, police action was undertaken at the request of factory management among other organs and, in the case of coal mines, also on the motion of prosecutors who were starting investigations into the organization of illegal strikes, Garstka said.

Observers Says Law, Order Forces 'Calm'

LD2608213788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] The so-called strike committees still occupying three mines are spreading rumors that the ending of the strikes in other mines was caused by the use of force by the forces of law and order. Absurd figures of injured and beaten people are cited. However, the ending of the strikes in the mines was observed by thousands of people, including many journalists and so-called independent observers. All of them unequivocally state that the forces of law and order are behaving in a very calm manner. The militia has used no force in the mines.

Official Denies Attack on Wroclaw Mine

LD2608120488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Our Wroclaw reporter, Waclaw (Sadej), has been following the trail of certain reports.

[Begin recording] [(Sadej)] I am asking you about this attack by the Citizens Militia Motorized Reserves [ZOMO] and you don't want to tell me anything.

[Unidentified woman] Have they been attacking someone?

[Unidentified man] No.

[(Sadej)] Because the BBC reports that the Walbrzych mine was attacked by ZOMO units and that's why the miners returned to work.

[Man] Here? You must be joking!

[(Kosmaty, Walbrzych Mine director general)] [words indistinct] (?without) shields. They didn't even have truncheons with them. They didn't have anything with them. Nothing at all.

[(Sadej)] But sir, you are undermining the credibility of the BBC right now!

[Man] That's right.

[(Kosmaty)] Well, it's nonsense. There's nothing to undermine. All these tales are nonsense. After all, I was there in person. A group of ZOMO men came up, I don't know, some 10 or 12 people, I didn't count them—you'd hardly count them at the time. A captain, whom I know personally, came up and asked people to move away from the gate so that no outsiders could get into the enterprise and so that people who didn't want to take part had the right to leave. He did this because, just like in any strike, terror and coercion creep in. Someone wants to leave and they won't let them leave. So for that reason there has to be some protection for the remaining men. That is quite normal, legal, and constitutional. Some people ended work at 1500 but they tried to stop them. Are office workers supposed to stay inside the works too? They dare. But if they want to go home, they should go home. After all, there is supposed to be full democracy.

[(Sadej)] Allow me to introduce you. I am speaking to the Jerzy (Kosmaty), director general of the Walbrzych Mine.

[(Kosmaty)] Indeed.

[(Sadej)] Sir, could you tell me what is the situation at the mine?

[(Kosmaty)] The mine is working normally. We supply, for example, coal for the Lenin Steelworks. And what would happen if the furnaces at the Lenin Steelworks were to stop? We supply coal to the coking plant, and if there were no coke the Lenin Steelworks would stop, so how can we not supply it? We also know that there is the coke oven gas and if there is no coke oven gas people will get left without gas. They won't even be able to cook their food. [end recording]

Strike in Poznan Ends; Workers Return 23 Aug

AU2608123988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—The entire work force of the H. Cegielski Aggregate and Traction Engine Factory in Poznan returned to work on the afternoon of 23 August. As we have already reported, a group of about 100 employees had stopped work, formed a strike committee, and put forth several political and economic demands. On Tuesday morning, after all the workers in this factory of over 900 employees had arrived at the plant, on-the-job negotiations commenced. Rational arguments and realistic attitudes from people who had not taken part in the strike exerted a positive influence over the small group of striking comrades. Following these discussions, it was decided to call off the strike and resume work. What used to be a strike committee immediately transformed itself into a negotiating committee, which will undertake talks with the management about the postulates that had been presented.

On Tuesday, the situation at the second striking plant in Poznan, the Railroad Carriage and Locomotive Plant, changed. Some 120 people out of the 1,000-plus employed by this plant declared an illegal strike. Because the discussions that had taken place at this plant during the first shift had failed to assure normal work, the management announced that whoever could not or would not work under these conditions could go home. As a result, all those not taking part in the strike did leave the factory. They were followed by the group of strikers, including members of the strike committee.

An illegal 1-day strike at the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant in Wroclaw ended at 0730 on Tuesday. The director, Wojciech Zmyslony, told PAP that a delegation from the strike committee had come to him and said that following consultations, it had suspended the strike. The director did not accept this statement and called for an immediate end to the strike, to which the delegation agreed. Normal work at this plant resumed at the second shift.

Following a meeting between representatives of the workforce on the one hand and the management and trade unions on the other at the "Murcki" coalmine in Katowice at 2200 on Monday, a communique was issued which said that it had been decided to support the economic demands put forth by the coal mines on strike and reject all demands of a political nature. The "Murcki" coalmine is continuing normal extraction.

Urban Radio Statement on Strike Situation

LD2708131588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1148 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Statement by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban to unidentified Polish radio correspondent; date and place not specifed—recorded]

[Text] The situation in the 30-Lecia PRL mine in Jastrzebie has become dramatic. There is a direct threat there of fire and explosion which are a danger to people, their safety; it is a threat to their lives. It also threatens the destruction of the mine.

The situation is such that the strikers refuse to allow rescue teams to enter the mine. It is above all a question that heavy equipment has to be used there now and the gates have to be opened. Strikers refuse to allow the heavy equipment to be driven in. That is an incredible situation without precedent in history; this is a very dramatic situation. The state authorities are either going to have use force to take the heavy equipment and rescue teams in—we don't want to use force—or agree to such tragedy possibly occuring. We don't have the right to agree to that—the duty of the state authorities is to guarantee, where possible, the safety of people and national property.

A moment ago I drew the attention of Western public opinion also to this dramatic dilemma by talking to Western agencies. Why? Because whatever happens, we will be accused. If we use force, there will be protests that we used force, and if we don't use force then we'll be accused of being at least the moral culprits of the tragedy. I also wanted to point out this dilemma to Polish public opinion.

The situation in the Szczecin port has become aggravated. Talks were being held there between the port management and strikers. The management gave far-reaching guarantees to the strikers within the framework of their powers and adopted a sympathetic stance on the financial demands and the other plant demands. The lawyer Sila-Nowicki acted as a mediator there. He acknowledged the guarantees as being ineffecive and left Szczecin. The talks were broken off.

I would like to stress that the talks were broken off after the statement had been made by General Kiszczak, opening the possibility for a roundtable dialogue on all subjects without any preliminary conditions. And thus the chances for an appropriate and honorable end to the strikes were created, including the strike in the port, which is incurring enormous losses for the Polish economy. The strike hampers the supply of the country, hampers exports; this is a strike which has arisen in a very specific place, lying on the very western sea border [word indistinct] of Poland.

I believe that if someone squanders the industrial and political opportunities which have been opened up, he bears a great moral and political responsibility for it. I state that that is the attitude of Szczecin port, or of the striking group there, to the broad offer of talks contained in the declaration by General Kiszczak. I have informed the Western agencies about this. I have also informed Western public opinion about this.

Rakowski Interviewed on Reasons for Strikes

LD2808150488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Studio interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, on 28 August—recorded]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee is meeting in Warsaw. The eighth plenary session is discussing current party tasks in connection with the economic situation and the reformation of political life. We have invited Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the studio. Comrade secretary, I understand this plenum is of great significance, but practically speaking it is a continuation of what was said at the seventh plenum.

[Rakowski] Naturally it is a continuation, but a continuation in the new political situation which was triggered by the wave of illegal strikes which have been taking place in Poland for almost 2 weeks. Although they are tending to disappear they are still continuing in some parts of Poland—in the coast and in Silesia. Thus a new situation exists which forces the party, the party leadership, and the Central Committee to reflect what should be done in the following days and weeks in order to make necessary improvements to the political atmosphere in the country. I think that during the present discussion we can say that members of the Central Committee fully realize the complexity of the economic and political situation, and they very critically consider what errors have been made in the course of implementing the second stage of the economic reform. Undoubtedly errors have been made and objectives set have not been achieved.

Let us take any issue at random—the so-called price and incomes operation. This necessitated price increases in February this year, and (?economic consequences) of the increase, and [words indistinct] of wage increases is shown by statistics that wages went ahead of prices. However, it is generally felt that prices are rising faster than wages, resulting [word indistinct] consequences, and this fact shapes social feeling.

[Announcer] No one in the discussion undermines the need for reform. However, they commonest factor being raised during the speeches is that we commit the sin of a lack consistency and firmness

[Rakowski] I would say that is our malady, not only in the party but [word indistinct] the entire community for a long time. We would have to consider historical and contemporary causes for the lack of consistency. But back to my reflections from the plenum; I must say that it compels one to think with regard to [words indistinct] again confirm acts of scorn for various reprimand actions. Here I must admit some justified workers demands which in recent months, or last year, were disregarded. I mean to say that much could have been settled, thus alleviating the cause for dissatisfaction which was used by our political opponents. I think that [words indistinct] Central Commitee fully realizes how many reprimand issues there are.

[Announcer] It was a characteristic feature of speeches at the discussion that no one minimized the fact that opposition in Poland exists. However, no one said that the opposition is guilty [words indistinct] but attention should be paid to the causes that made possible for [words indistinct] and managed to convince some.

[Rakowski] Yes, that is correct. This indicates that [word indistinct] in describing the situation that there is no one-sided view, nor any one-sided look at the phenomena, or political facts which exist in our country. This is also a phenomenon which is a beneficial sign. It also demonstrates that the Central Committee and its members are pragmatic people and are not guided by some principles accepted in advance.

I believe that this is a very significant fact, from which other practical steps or another way of looking at this or that phenomena have resulted. In my opinion the most important matter next to this sober assessment of the situation in Poland—the arrangement of political forces—is how the Central Committee will end its deliberations, and what will be the party's activity during the next few days and weeks. I believe we have a great many trump cards in our hands which should be played when an unfavorable situation exists in order to change its direction toward the required goal, and not just for the party but for the community and for the country,.

[Announcer] The time factor is something which has often been mentioned in the discussion.

[Rakowski] Yes, I agree. Moreover, I have stressed on numerous occasions that everything can be bought in the world with the exception of time; there is no shop, store, or bank in which time can be purchased. There is no doubt that we must all learn that the time factor plays an exceptionaly important role in the process of liberating us from all that still holds us in schematic or dogmatic fetters [words indistinct] to be liberated from the oppression as soon as possible.

This is connected with the time factor. Perhaps it is a banal statement, but the world goes forward fast, and Poland must endevour to keep pace with those who are strong [word indistinct] in this part of the world.

I believe that we have enough strength to catch up with development, or all those units of the world, nations, or states, which today manage their difficulties better than we do.

Seamen's Union Endorses OPZZ Statement

LD2608150388 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 26 Aug 88

["Statement to Polish Ocean Lines (PLO) Crews"—PAP headline]

[Text] The PLO Employees' Trade Union [ZZP PLO] would like to inform you that with reference to the OPZZ statement expressing disapproval for the current results of government actions in the sphere of social and economic policy and the Government Press Office release commenting on the OPZZ Executive Committee Statement, the ZZP PLO administration fully supports the position of the OPZZ. It also expresses its misgivings that the government actions aimed at improving the country's economic situation, which had earlier been agreed with the OPZZ, do not provide guarantees of its stability. The decisions adopted by the government so far have led to galloping price rises, inflation, and a decline in the working people's standard of living, which shows a lack of control over the development of events in the country's economy.

This also affects people who work in especially difficult conditions—that is seamen—and thereby also their families which are struggling against the hardships of daily life. Consequently, noting these problems, we have been engaging in talks with the enterprise administration with regard to pay policy in order to obtain such pay levels as would compensate for the growing inflation.

[Signed] Zbyszko Felski, chairman of the ZZP PLO

Further Developments in Gdansk Shipyard Strikes

Situation Improving, but Tense

LD2608114088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Excerpts] [Unidentified correspondent] Here is my recorded interview with Wojciech Trzebieda, chief director of the commercial port in Gdansk. My first question was: What is the current situation in the port?

[Begin recording] [Trzebieda] On the one hand the situation is improving; on the other, it is tense. Nevertheless, Region 3, which has been working normally, in the past 24 hours transloaded nearly 14,000 tonnes of various cargo.

On the whole we have 24 vessels in the port, including those waiting in the roadstead, that are ready to unload or load tonnage amounting to 314,000 tonnes. The situation has normalized in Region 2. Despite the tense situation, the workforce demonstrated considerable common sense by agreeing to my proposals concerning ending the strike. The work force is being called to resume work in the port at 1500 today.

[Correspondent] That was Region 2.

[Trzebieda] In the remaining regions the situation is as follows: In Region 1 there are about 70 workers who illegally continue to strike. I would like to stress that as a result of a decision, which I made after consultation with the workers council, Region 1 has been disbanded, also Region 4 has been disbanded. In Region 4 there is a group of about 150 persons. I would like to emphasize that workers of Region 4 who did not sign the declaration on readiness to resume work at 0000 last night are no longer employed by the Port of Gdansk. The current situation is beginning to inflict severe losses on the enterprise: Preliminary calculations indicate that this already amounts to Z315 million. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] In concluding my report I should like to add that we tried to conduct talks with strikers in the Gdansk Repair Yard. Our colleague was not only refused any statements, she was led under escort to the strike committee where she was searched bodily, and she was threatened that if she attempted to take up her microphone her tape recorder would be smashed. So much from Gdansk. [end recording]

Workers Body Writes Strike Group

LD2608172288 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] In the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard a group of shipyard workers continues to occupy the gates. Today, at 1100 the Workers Council of the shipyard addressed a letter to the strike committee. It reads as follows:

The Workers Council, acting in accordance with the statute of workers' self-management of the Gdansk Shipyard, having become acquainted with the economic and social situation in the shipyard, expresses deep concern and alarm over the continuing fate of the yard in view of its current economic and production condition.

With appreciation and satisfaction we accept the fact concerning the agreement on carrying out work on two (?Soviet) vessels: (D485-2) and (D352-2). Expressing (?this), the council (?is striving) for an extension of the agreement to cover the remaining tasks (?for this year). We express the hope that the strike can be changed to a strike alert, which would have a favorable bearing on the execution of this year's tasks. This (?decision) would be the basis for an effective defense of our reorganization program and, therefore, the existence of our firm. The council holds it to be essential to recall that the strike was begun at a time when, first, the shipyard was beginning to introduce the reorganization program affirmed by the council, and second, the successful sale of two vessels this month not only would show a considerable improvement in the production situation, but also, for the first time this year, would enable all debts to be paid and financial independence to be achieved by means of income from sales.

(?Without going into the political aims) the council proposes that the circumstances presented be considered and the recommendation (?set out in the introduction) be examined.

In conclusion, the council expresses disapproval and profound dissatisfaction at the [word indistinct] cases of the improper treatment of employees (?leaving) the shipyard in the afternoon. This is (?unpleasant) evidence. The registration (?acts), especially yesterday, could bear witness to the deceitfulness of the intentions and aims of your committee, if they occur with its permission.

The Workers Council declares its readiness to discuss the problems outlined in this document.

[Signed] For the Workers Council, Chairman Jerzy Bukowicz

The director of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk has ordered that tomorrow, Saturday, will be a work-free day for the work force. This day will be made up at another date, in accordance with the shipyard's production requirements.

26 Aug Situation Described

LD2608194288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Olgierd Pawlowski reports on the situation in the port of Gdansk.

[Begin recording] [Pawlowski] At 1500 the Region 2 work force began work in numbers no different from the norm, in the region in which, as we have already reported, the strike ended late yesterday evening. At the moment the dockers working there are unloading rail cars of general cargo and sulphur. [passage omitted] Region 3 is working normally. Unfortunately, in Regions 1 and 4, the former employees of the port are still striking—I stress former, because both regions have been disbanded as of today. The people there are there working illegally.

So much for the port. The Wislaw Shipyard was working. The work force of the Northern Shipyard had a work-free day. About 1,100-1,200 employees of the Gdansk Repair Shipyard are still on strike, unfortunately. It is worth stressing that there were no unpleasant incidents there in relation to the employees who left the shipyard at 1400. This shyipyard, too, has a work-free day tomorrow.

In the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, still no fundamental changes. [passage omitted] [end recording]

TU Presidium Denounces Strike Methods

LD2608220588 Warsaw PAP in English 2038 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 26—Presidium of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ship-Building Industry, debating today with participating representatives of union organizations from the strike-affected yards, evaluated the situation in the enterprises covered by the federation.

The meeting received with concern the information about the intensifying acts of pressure and blackmail against workers who do not support the strikes.

The Presidium said that using the discontent and social tension for political ends, in their essence running counter to the interests of the working people, is particularly harmful. Continuation of these activities may cause irreversible losses resulting in decreased ability to satisfy the needs of the workers in the field of wages and welfare assistance.

Walesa: Talks 'Step in Right Direction'

LD2708100488 Hamburg DPA in German 0933 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Workers' leader Lech Walesa left the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk on Monday [as received]. He said that the statement by Interior Minister Czeslaw Kisz Czak on possible talks around a table is a "step in the right direction." Walesa went to St Brygida Church.

Strikes Continue 27 Aug; Gdynia Normal

LD2708102488 Warsaw PAP in English 1003 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 27—Wildcat strikes are continued at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, where several hundred strikers are occupying gates and a canteen at the repair yard, the northern shipyard and in the Gdansk port. In the latter, work is continued only in sections 2 and 3. Strike is continued at sections 1 and 4.

Crews of Gdynia enterprises, including shipyards and the port, continue their normal work despite agitation on the part of striking groups which arrived from Gdansk.

Gdansk Scene 'Unfortunately Unchanged'

LD2708154588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Olgierd Pawlowski reports on the situation in Gdansk:

My dispatch on the 6th day of the various groups in the Gdansk shipyard and in two sectors of the Gdansk port continuing their strike must be started with the word, unfortunately. Unfortunately the situation has still not changed in these enterprises. [passage omitted] There is also no change in the Wisla shipyard, the northern shipyard, nor in the Gdansk repair shipyard, where the strike committee issued passes for some strikers to go home.

Yesterday the shipyard's managing director, (Zbigniew Korbek), following the appeal by General Kiszczak, proposed that the strikers end the strike and help create conditions for roundtable talks. Today he is to receive a reply to hs proposition.

In the Lenin shipyards the situation hasn't changed since yesterday.

However, the Workers' Council has sent a message to the Strike Committee, which states, among other things:

The Workers' Council, acting in accord with the statute of the self-governing body of the Gdansk shipyard work force, after aquainting itself with the socioeconomic situation in the shipyard, expresses great concern and disquiet as to the further fate of the enterprise in the face of its current economic and production condition. With recognition and satisfaction, we accept the agreement concerning work on two ships. We also propose that the agreement be broadened to cover the remaining tasks included in the production plan for the current year.

We hope that it will be possible to change the strike into a strike alert, which could have a favorable influence on fulfillment of this year's tasks. This attitude will be the basis for an effective defense of our program of reorganization, and by the same token, the existence of the yard. We consider it necessary to recall first, that the strike was started in a period when the shipyard had started to effect the program of reorganization, which was accepted by the Council, and second, that this month's successful sale of four ships would be proof of a significant improvement in the production situation. This would also permit that, for the first time this year, through income from sales all debts would be paid and a self-financing position attained. Without going into political (?details), we propose that the above circumstances and the conclusions presented in the introduction be considered.

In conclusion we express disapproval and deep dissatisfaction over the growing number of cases of employees being treated in an inappropriate manner as they leave the shipyard in the afternoon after work. It shows lack of tolerance. Cases recorded on Friday may be proof of the falsity of the intentions and aims of your committee, as they are taking place with its acquiescence.

The Workers' Council expresses its willingness to discuss the problems contained in the above message. The message was signed by

Jerzy (Bukowicz), chairman of the Workers Council

Late in the afternoon the Workers' Council of the Lenin Shipyard received a reply. Unfortunately the strikers failed to define their stance on the basic problems and propositions contained in the message.

Situation 'Improved Slightly'

LD2708185488 Warsaw PAP in English 1708 GMT 27 AUG 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 27—The situation in the port of Gdansk has improved slightly.

The 3rd Region of the port, which is working all the time and has not striked [as received] was joined in the afternoon on Aug. 26 by the crew of the 2nd Region.

Strikes are however continuing in the two remaining regions: The 1st and 4th. Part of the 70 strikers in the 1st Region signed a declaration of starting work. About 150 are still on strike in the 4th Region (northern port).

23 ships were moored in the Gdansk port on August 27. 8 ships were being handled: 2 ships were being handled in the 2nd Region, 6, including two from the FRG and 1 from the Soviet Union, in the 4th Region. Another Soviet ship sailed into the 2nd Region and a ship from the FRG to the 3rd Region.

Daily losses caused by the strike in the Gdansk port are estimated at 115 million zlotys. If the strikes in the 1st and 4th Regions continue, the losses will exceed all that had been worked out for years. Difficult-to-estimate losses sustained as a result of the loss of the port's credibility in rendering services and the shipment of some transit loads to foreign ports add to this.

The PUWP CC Executive stated that the activities started by the general manger—within the frame of the binding rules of law and his powers—are correct and win the full approval of a majority of the crews. An appeal was issued to the crews of the 1st and 4th Regions which are not working to stop the wildcat strike and start work immediately.

Meanwhile, 28 ships are being handled in the commercial port of Gdynia. A further seven are waiting to enter port.

Number of Strikers Noted

LD2808014888 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Some 500 people are striking in the Gdansk shipyard, about 200 in the Northern Port, and about 600 in the Repair Yard. In the Maritime Trading Port in Gdansk, around 200 people are striking in Regions 1 and 4. Regions 2 and 3 are working normally. Also working without disturbance are the remaining enterprises of the voivodship, for which today, Saturday, was a working day.

Strike Status Quo, Talk Attempts 28 Aug

LD2808201088 Warsaw PAP in English 1922 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 28—The situation in Gdansk has basically not changed this Saturday and Sunday. The strike is still under way at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the Gdansk Repair Yard, the Radunia Northern Shipyard as well as the 1st and 4th Region of the commercial port in Gdansk. The number of strikers remains unchanged.

In connection with the statement issued by Gen. Kiszczak, the managers of strike-bound plants have made the first attempts to hold talks with representatives of the strike committees.

Walesa 'Prepared To Talk'

LD2808115788 Hamburg DPA in German 1112 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Lech Walesa, the chairman of the banned trade union Solidarity, returned today to the striking workers at the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard. He climbed over a fence, getting involved in a minor scuffle with a policeman. In the shipyard he told reporters that he had left the shipyard on Saturday to talk to his advisers.

He was still prepared to talk to the political leadership. He also has the impression that the negotiation offer from Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak is still valid. He understands that the leadership at the Central Committee meeting is concerned with political problems at the moment. Walesa took part in a mass at the Lenin Shipyard.

Lawyer, Lenin Shipyard Strikers Confer

LD2808175088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Report from Gdansk by correspondent Andrzej Mielczarek]

[Text] Hours later, there is still no change in the situation. We have only learned that lawyer Sila-Nowicki has come to Gdansk and has begun talks with the strikers in the Lenin Shipyard. Around 400-500 people were at this enterprise today. They took part in Sunday masses inside the shipyard.

In Gdansk maritime trading port, Regions 2 and 4 are working normally, as well as the navigation services department and other port services. On the other hand, the strike is continuing in Regions 1 and 3. The situation in the Gdansk Repair Shipyard and in the Northern Shipyard has not changed. In the latter, the gates are occupied by a small group of workers.

Gdynia Port Crews Work Normally Despite Agitators

LD2608203888 Warsaw PAP in English 1820 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 26—Crews of Gdynia enterprises continue their normal work despite agitation on the part of emissaries from Gdansk and from the country's interior.

Today, two newly built vessels left the Komuna Paryska Shipyard, a hull of a fishing trawler which will be furnished in the Netherlands and a prototype ship "Anna Akhmatova" for a Soviet shipowner. The yard's crew is also carrying furnishing works on six other ships.

In dry docks, along several ship hulls, yard workers are building a large floating dock with the load capacity of 20 thousand tonnes ordered by a Soviet customer. The dock is to be launched in September.

The Gdynia sea port serviced today 20 ships reloading about 30 thousand tonnes of cargo.

Szczecin Strike Effect Cited; Talks Broken Off

Port, Transport Talks Held 26 Aug

LD2608111488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Teodor Baranowski reports from Szczecin.

[Baranowski] As we have already reported, the talks which began at 1800 last night between the management and the striking employees of the enterprise at the port of Szczecin were broken off after less than an hour.

This morning at 0930, in light of the strikers' accepting the condition put forward by the port management that the negotiations be conducted in a calm, matter-of-fact atmosphere, the talks were resumed. At the moment the director general of the enterprise, Jan Wieclaw, is talking in Swinoujscie with representatives of the work force and the social, political, and vocational organizations of the port there, which have been working without interruption. Thus the management of the port administration is implementing with consistency its earlier announcement of talks with all representatives of the enterprise's workforce. [passage omitted:]

Port workers continue coming to the central reporting post to report their availability for work. This morning at 0800 there were 1,317 names on the list. That means that the port of Szczecin is short some 900 people.

Meanwhile, today the strikers at the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise [WPKM] bus depot in Struga Street began talks with management representatives on the basis of agreed conditions as the result of mediation by the founding body. The talks, which started at 1000 and in which only WPKM employees are taking part, concern organizational and economic matters of interest to the work force of the enterprise.

Mediator Discusses Situation

LD2608155688 Warsaw PAP in English
1440 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—Lawyer Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, member of the Consultative Council at the President of the Council of State, arrived as a mediator at the Szczecin port, still on a sit-in strike, the EXPRESS WIECZORNY evening daily reported today. He called on both sides to start talks, "EXPRESS" added.

Directly after his talks with strikers Sila-Nowicki told the paper: "I can repeat the words with which I addressed people gathered at the port. Both sides voiced there their grievances. I would like to treat their suggestions in a matter-of-fact way.

"Today the question is: What should we do as Poles to reach an agreement and end this conflict. It is undisputable that there is a strike committee in Szczecin and it is also beyond dispute that legal authorities exist whose obligation is the observance of the law."

"Let us pay our attention to the fact what freedom of speech we have in Poland at present. But we do not have any freedom of action in ourselves. And it is no use multiplying accusations and grievances, it is no use ignoring one another—we must get an agreement by all means. Nobody has a monopoly on Poland. We all are responsible for her," EXPRESS quoted Sila-Nowicki as saying.

Next, the paper said: "It seems that this appeal has brought some significant results. Thus, shortly after a meeting with Sila-Nowicki representatives of the strike committee unblocked the entrance to a port office building while the other side removed the police blockade around the port's main gates. Almost all day yesterday and the night before preparations for talks continued."

Strike Disrupts Railways

LD2608163588 Warsaw PAP in English
1504 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 26—The strike of the Szczecin dockers exerts an ever serious influence on the railways.

2,221 freight cars are waiting at delivery and side-tracks near the railway station of the Szczecin central port. Customers of the freight cars will have to pay very high fines amounting to many millions of zlotys.

At the same time, strikes in the port of Szczecin disrupted the pace of the railways' work, which is the reason for 114,000 tonnes of unloaded goods. The freight volume is dropping and the railwaymen themselves are losing by this as their bonuses decrease and the payments from the profit fund can be smaller. Besides, freight cars, whose number is too small as compared with the needs, were put out of operation.

One should know that the pace of transport on the important international north-south route, used by the railways' foreign contracting parties, was also disrupted.

Strikers Adjourn Talks 26 Aug

LD2608194388 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Excerpt] At the request of strikers in the port of Szczecin, the afternoon round of talks were suspended just before 1900 and will be resumed a few minutes before 2100. In the opinion of the port management the talks could end successfully today. [passage omitted]

Agitator 'Ignored' at Swinoujscie Port

LD2608172588 Warsaw PAP in English
1555 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 26—A man agitating for strike, a member of the crew of one of the port's tugboats appeared in repair workshops of the Swinoujscie port at working time today and agitated for strike during his free time. Not only he was ignored but also was taken outside the workshop's gate.

The unloading of iron from the foreign "Angelica Grace" and "Sequoia" ships, phosphorites from the "Ziemia Bialostocka" bulk cargo carrier of the Polish Steamship Company and of ilmenite from the "Kedzierzyn" vessel was going on at the port of Swinoujscie today.

Strike Situation Updated 27 Aug

LD2708102188 Warsaw PAP in English 1001 GMT
27 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug 27—Strike is continued at the Szczecin port. Expected are results of talks between the management of Szczecin-Swinoujscie port and representatives of illegal strikers.

Talks between the management and strikers, which started August 25, were broken off shortly after midnight last night. They were to be continued starting 10 a.m. today.

Talks Broken Off 27 Aug

LD2708104988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] A last-minute news item: A report from our Szczecin correspondent broadcast earlier on the talks continuing in the port has become obsolete. These talks have been broken off.

Strikers Issue Statement

LD2708111588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] An item of last minute news: At 1115, the management of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port directorate received the following statement;

Statement by the Interplant Strike Committee of the work forces of the West Pomeranian region plants.

Today, the Interplant Strike Committee [MKS], the strike committees of the port of Szczecin, of the Voivodship Urban Transport Enterprise [WPKM] and (Zerdekol) have issued a standpoint regarding the conditions for continuing the strike. The uniform standpoint in this regard is:

1. The strike will be continued on the basis of a decision by the MKS, after receiving political-legal guarantees from the authorities of trade union pluralism, concerning private farmers;

2. The decision to end the strike will be preceded by the agreement of the Gdansk MKS;

3. The standpoint contained in points 1 and 2 has been agreed and supported by the striking work forces comprising the MKS.

[Signed] Interplant Strike Committee

The talks in the port and the WPKM were thereby discontinued.

Strikers Demand Union Pluralism

LD2808143088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 28 Aug

[Text] In the port of Szczecin more banners, more makeshift chapels, and more heavy equipment to block the gates have turned up, thus dispelling hope for a speedy and rational settlement of the conflict. It seemed on Thursday that a turning point had been reached. The speech made by Sila-Nowicki, member of the Consultative Council, at a meeting with the strike committee on Wednesday, and his appeal to both sides for immediate resumption of negotiations based on the three demands put forward by the strikers, with the simultaneous transfer of point one concerning union pluralism to an appropriate platform, gave rise to a more optimistic view.

Saturday's turn in the attitude of the strike committee was a surprise. When it appeared that the demands could be the topic of an objective discussion, the strike committee issued a statement again making the condition for ending the strike a formal and legal guarantee for the introduction of union pluralism with the inclusion of individual farmers. It also states that the end of strike can only take place after being agreed with the strike committee in Gdansk. [words indistinct] Thus negotiations that were broken off yesterday morning have not been resumed.

Strikers Suggest Talks Resume

LD2801163780 Warsaw PAP in English 1524 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 28—Representatives of strikers at the Szczecin Port conveyed at 1430 hrs today a letter to the management of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port, suggesting the resumption of earlier broken talks.

At present the management is composing a team to conduct talks. The team is to meet at 18 hrs.

Dock, Transport Talks Broken Off 28 Aug

LD2808200688 Warsaw PAP in English 1916 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 28—Talks between representatives of the management of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port and the striking dockers, started today at about 6 p.m. and lasting about 40 minutes, were broken off because the representatives of the strikers were not able to define their further activities aimed at opening the port.

Also at 6 p.m., representatives of the management of the voivodship enterprise of municipal transportation attempted to hold talks with the strikers at the Szczecin-Dabie bus depot. The talks were also broken off.

Port Losses Top Zl Billion

LD2808165488 Warsaw PAP in English 1544 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 28—Sunday was the 12th day of strike at the Szczecin Port, north-western Poland. According to economic estimates the protest action has already brought losses reaching over 1.1 billion zlotys.

Today 13 vessels were moored idly at the port while 7 waited in the roadstead [as received] to enter it.

However, in Swinoujscie where the port did not stop work continued was unloading [phrase as received] of ore brought by Polish and foreign units, including ore for Austria brought by the MS "Kopalnia Miechowice" ship, and also of phosphorites—by the MS "Ziemia Bialostocka."

The Swinoujscie "Odra" deep fishery and fishing services enterprise reloaded 1,300 tons of general cargo from the MS "Naleczow," owned by the Polish ocean lines, however, this time the ship which usually carries some 1,300 tons of ore for Western customers had to leave for Goeteborg with empty holds.

Investigation of Szczecin, Mine Strikes Begins

LD2608194888 Warsaw PAP in English 1851 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Warsaw, Aug. 26—The regional prosecutor's offices in the north-western city of Szczecin and the nearby town of Police continue investigations into illegal strikes of a part of the crew of the Szczecin port and in some depots of the voivodship municipal transport enterprise.

As concerns the investigation into the strike at the port, prosecutors aim at reconstructing circumstances related to initiating of the action and its course. All reports on the use of violence are verified. Losses suffered by the port as well as by enterprises which were its customers are estimated in detail. Representatives of the port's economic and administration managements are interrogated as witnesses while the strike's organizers and leaders are summoned for interrogation as suspects.

The investigation also started in municipal transport depots which have already been working now. At present interrogated are persons suspected of playing the leading role in the strike there.

In another development, after unsuccessful warning talks with organizers of a wildcat strike in shafts "Victoria" and "Barbara" of the coal mine "Victoria" in the south-eastern town of Walbrzych the regional prosecutor started an investigation on Aug. 23.

The hitherto findings show that the action was begun on Aug. 22 first by miners of the Barbara shaft and next—by the Victoria shaft. Strikers were led by a dozen or so-strong groups and ended in the morning on Aug. 24.

Preventing measures were not used in relation to suspects.

Economic Consequences of Disturbances

Strike Losses Reviewed

LD2808165088 Warsaw PAP in English 1541 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 28—In result of strikes and work stoppages which took place this month in a dozen or so hard coal mines, counting till August 27, miners did not extract 715,709 thousand tonnes of hard coal. [sentence as received]

In sale prices it means the loss of 9,059 million zloties. In result of the arisen situation Poland did not export to hard currency countries 223,100 tonnes of coal worth about 11,155 thousand dollars.

The losses are still growing due to the continuation of illegal strikes in the "Manifest Lipcowy" and "Jastrzebie" mines. In other mines losses caused by several-day stoppages in the exploitation make it impossible for a fast return to full production capacity. There are no possibilities to make up for those losses.

Such situation is true, among others, for the "Borynia" mine, where effects of the strike will be removed to the end of this month. This will cause that the 24-hour level of extraction will reach only 2 to 3 thousand tonnes of coal instead of 10,300 thousand tonnes.

This means that along direct losses caused by stoppages reaching 43 thousand tonnes, Poland will also lose about 60 to 80 thousand tonnes of coal. In the best instance, the mines will reach their normal production level by September 2 or 3.

Economic Reform Committee Views Causes

LD2708012488 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 26—The Government Committee for the Implementation of Economic Reform held a meeting today presided over by Vice Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski.

The Committee assessed the causes of negative phenomena which have surfaced in the economy of late in connection with the start of illegal strikes. It also reviewed the directions of operations aimed at countering the disorganization of the market in combination with the further implementation of the program of the 2nd stage of economic reform.

The Committee reviewed the drafts of further legal regulations creating conditions for the future implementation of the law on undertaking economic activity. The solutions aimed at levelling the conditions of the operations of units of the socialized economy and non-agricultural private economy were discussed.

In another point of the agenda, the committee acquainted itself with the assessment of economic instruments used thus far in the field of natural environment protection compiled by the minister of natural environment protection and natural resources along with motions to adjust them to the solutions of the 2nd stage of economic reform. The committee stressed the urgent need to increase the effectiveness of these instruments and to expand their arsenal.

Society Will Bear Strike Costs

LD2708110188 Warsaw PAP in English 1043 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—The strikes in hard coal mines and in shipyards and ports of Szczecin and Gdansk caused losses amounting to thousands of millions. Not getting coking coal, some coking plants could not supply steel plants with coke. Some factories could not carry on normal production because ships which had brought necessary material were unloaded. Who will bear the costs of these losses, is the question PAP reporter asked Vice-Chairman of the State Economic Arbitration Witold Pewelko. He said:

In the light of rules of Polish civil law, the strike is not a circumstance that excludes the enterprise's responsibility for not implementing or the improper fulfilment of an agreement. One can expect factories and steel plants to claim for damages in virture of suctained losses from a mine that did not supply coking coal on time because of a strike.

As for disputes in which a foreign contracting party is one of the parties, one should assume that the Polish side will have to bear the costs. In every case, society will bear the costs of decreasing national income.

Economic Reform Projects Under Way

LD2608215588 Warsaw PAP in English
1501 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 26—Deep restructuring of the mechanisms of functioning of the Polish economy is going on. Many a task important for the reforming processes have been undertaken and already implemented this year. Here are some of them:

—The number of state enterprises of basic importance for the economy has been limited from 1972 to 329. This means that managers of over one thousand work establishments are appointed and recalled by factory self-managements instead of founding bodies.

—An investment program of the national socio-economic plan for the years 1986-90 has been initially verified with a view to speeding up structural changes in the economy. It envisages the suspension of the construction of the "Stefanow" mine in Lublin coal region, transferring of the date of starting the building of the "Mikolow" hard coal pit beyond 1990, reduction of outlays for the construction of two other collieries and decrease of investment outlays for iron and steel metallurgy.

—Independence of cooperatives has grown as they can at present associate themselves in central and regional unions.

—Compulsory brokerage in trade turnover was reduced this year from 38 raw material and material groups to 18.

—A fund of industrial structural changes has been set up and already started to grant development loans.

—A new structure of main and central state administration bodies made it possible to cut employment in offices by some 30 percent.

—The granting of private foreign trade licences has been facilitated. It is possible at present to be given such a licence with the five percent of production assigned for export (instead of the hitherto minimum 25 percent). At the same time, 78 exported goods and 20 imported ones do not need any licence.

—New rules have been introduced concerning managerial pays in state enterprises, which are to be linked with economic results scored by those enterprises.

—New, simplified rules of turning over economic units to agents started to operate last April 1.

—The purchasing of hard currencies for zlotys by economic units has been extended. The purchasing and selling of PKO [as received] dollar coupons by individual people have been introduced.

—A process of granting economic independence for towns and rural districts has started to work under an amended resolution on the system of People's Councils and territorial self-government.

Hard Currency Debt Effects

LD2708234388 Warsaw PAP in English
1420 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 27—Poland's hard currency debt, chiefly with regard to developed capitalist countries, reached 39.2 billion dollars by the end of 1987. It exceeded five times the value of Poland's annual income from exports to hard currency countries. Growing interest obligations last year reached the value of 2.9 billion dollars, that is 42 per cent of Poland's income from exports to hard currency countries. Poland was able to direct 1.8 billion dollars to service the debt, including 1.2 billion dollars for interest payments. Part of the interests underwent capitalization and therefore, as well as in result of the drop of the value of the dollar, Poland's debt continued to grow last year.

Poland's foreign debt has a negative impact on the development of economic cooperation with capitalist states, which first of all is manifested in the decrease of Poland's imports capability and payment credibility and in result of this also in difficulties in receiving new credits. Their lack limits investment possibilities, has a negative influence on the existing production potential and makes difficult the modernization and restructuring of the industry.

Of course, the large debt is not the only cause of difficulties encountered while negotiating credits (for example the blockade of credits for Poland in the beginning of 1982 was chiefly politically motivated,) however, it doubtless plays a vital role. In the eyes of capitalist partners Poland's payment credibility is being decreased not so much by the sum of the debt but by its propotion against the sums of hard currency incomes from exports, low growth rate of export incomes, doubts as to the success of the reform and the possibility of quick coming out of the economic crisis.

The Paris Club persistently refuses to discuss the problem of new guaranteed credits and refers the Polish side to bilateral talks. Until now, respective capitalist countries have a negative attitude towards this problem.

With the signing of the consecutuve debt rescheduling agreements with creditor banks Poland achieved from that source certain sums in the form of short-term guaranteed credits. However, they cannot play a vital role in the development of economic cooperation. Attempts made by the bank Handlowy (commercial bank) to receive medium or long- term credits has not brought positive results. In this state of affairs, commercial credits became the largest potential source for the inflow of hard currencies from abroad.

Another possible form of gaining credits, currently in initial phase of negotiations with Western partners, is linked with the foundation of production companies. In this case credits would be in the form of capital contribution. The Polish partner would be obliged to gradually buy out, with hard currency, foreign partners' share.

The creation of such companies with foreign partners inclined to durably participate in them should also result in certain inflow of hard currency.

Poland's foreign debt does not have such a great influence on the development of cooperation with capitalist countries in cases when the situation does require the engagement of partners' financial funds or requires a short term engagement of such funds. Thus, outside the negative impact of the debt is in principle the improvement [of] trade, cooperation on third markets, traditional exchange of goods with cash payments, compensation and tied transaction. However, Poland's payment difficulties ensuing from the large debt and from the highly limited possibilities of receiving credit do not encourage the establishing of permanent cooperation.

An open question remains whether the foreign debt may be transformed from a negative to a positive factor in the development of cooperation with abroad, that is whether it can be used as an instrument leading Western partners towards cooperation. Under the pressure of circumstances they may be ready for certain concessions. A characteristic example is a proposal to change credit liabilities into contributions of capital, forwarded recently by some of the states-creditors towards state-debtors. Some of the creditors propose such a solution also in case of Poland. At the moment the proposal is being examined in Poland.

The fundamental prerequisite of coming out of the crisis is the development and economic growth in states-debtors, supported by financial assistance on the part of the creditors. If under the joint pressure of states-debtors this condition is implemented in world-scale, then foreign debt may change into a driving-force of economic cooperation, also between Poland and capitalist states.

Poland's membership in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank is of vital importance for the development of this cooperation. Possibility of obtaining credits from both of these international bodies would without doubt make easier the modernization and export stimulating restructuring of Poland's economy.

Such credits would also strengthen Poland's position in negotiating the rescheduling of debt and achieving new credits from other sources.

Church Officials React to Conflicts

Cardinal Glemp Gives Sermon

LD2608225988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Religious ceremonies linked with the feast day of Our Lady of Czestochowa were held on Jasna Gora in Czestochowa today. Taking part in the ceremonies, alongside the faithful and pilgrims, were members of the Episcopate of Poland, priests, the heads of religious orders and religious houses. The pontifical high mass was celebrated by Krakow Metropolitican Franciszek Cardinal Macharski. The sermon was delivered by Primate of Poland Jozef Cardinal Glemp.

In the first part of the sermon the primate cited the Gospel stories of the miracle at Cana of Galilee and the miracle of the loaves and fishes. He referred to Christ's words at the Last Supper, when he prayed: Father, let there be unity. Cardinal Glemp said that the world has of itself a tendency toward divisions. They hinder development and initiative to benefit one's country, which brings in its train the degradation of entire peoples, condemned to (?poverty) and oppression. Everywhere where ethics and morality are lacking, relentless economic processes cause whole societies to be guided by one criterion: profit. A world which has withdrawn from God, which has no unity with Him, has a tendency to struggle, to (?enmity).

Continuing his sermon, the primate of Poland said: We are all aware that in our homeland we live very sharply divided. On the one hand, a society, fairly passive on the whole, in which however an active opposition breaks through; and on the other the authorities, who take responsibility for the political and economic fate of the nation. There are more of these divisions, for we define ourselves as a pluralist society. However, there is a sharp conflict between the above-mentioned division. The church in the Polish nation does not identify with any political group but, preaching the gospel of unity and love, has in its view the prospect of the future of the whole nation and state.

That is why, the cardinal stressed, the painful split and the form which the conflict takes fills people of the church, particularly the bishops and priests, with immense pain and concern. Everyone realizes that stopping work in a poor country causes the poverty to worsen. But this is not all: In the international arena, poor partners begin to be scorned and attempts are made to exploit them further.

The observation of historical conflicts, the primate went on, suggests to us the following statement: In order to alleviate a conflict one must first cool one's emotions and obduracy, and instead of repeating slogans one must begin to look for the reasons for behavior on both sides. Second, one must relinquish ambitions, a resentful attitude, and humbly see on the part of the authorities as well as that of the workers the way of service to all the homeland and not just one social group. Third, one must not set conditions which either make dialogue impossible or which are impossible to meet at the moment. In a word, one must (?see) the situation from the other side of the conflict.

Any authorities, Jozef Cardinal Glemp continued, can print banknotes but milk, meat, and bread cannot be printed. They must be worked for. Any government, if the country has debts, has to repay the interest at least, and paying the interest runs into billions of dollars for us. The government does not pay it itself but has to obtain it from the poor country, from the workers' labor in fact. This is the reality; this is the truth, seen not only in the dimension of a social group but of the nation, the primate of Poland said.

These words were received by the gathering with applause.

Bishops Issue Pastoral Message

*LD2608121488 Hamburg DPA in German
1138 GMT 26 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The most important parts of the Polish bishops' pastoral message read as follows:

"The strikes are an expression of the malaise which has been growing. The main cause of the present social and political situation lies in the violation of human rights and the dignity of human labor. The violation of these rights harms the whole nation and the safety of the state.

One must break with the planned and practiced mendacity and build the life of the nation on truth.

One must break with intimidation and force and loyally heed the reasonable voice of all the country's citizens.

One must enroll competent people to deal with the management of state affairs and grant each honest citizen the freedom due to him.

One must accept that dialogue is the basis for the resolution of all social conflicts.

One must find ways which lead to trade union pluralism and the founding of associations.

It is the duty of those in government to guarantee appropriate living conditions for all.

We are all clearly aware that rights are matched by duties. There is a duty toward honesty in private, family, and public life. Work is the duty of every person. Joint exertions await us. In the name of God we ask it: Nobody should evade it. Nobody will relieve us of this effort. The history of our baptized nation has taught us that there is no situation without a way out. The social contracts signed 8 years ago and which were elaborated with such great effort, remain a task which must be fulfilled. We are all obliged to make exertions; the church will continue to perform its services here—in the name of the living God and under the protection of the queen of Poland of Czestochowa."

Signed: the cardinals, archbishop and diocesan bishops.

Bishops Emphasize 'Duty'

*LD2608163388 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1515 GMT 26 Aug 88*

[Text] Cardinals, bishops, and diocesan archbishops gathered at the Jasna Gora celebrations in Czestochowa have sent a message to the clergy, the faithful, and all people of goodwill in the homeland. We direct our voice, they said, to both the governing and the governed, again pointing out both rights and duties. We proclaim our teaching on the basis of the truth in the gospel, told so clearly to the whole world by John Paul II.

Against the background of events that have occurred in some parts of Poland, the bishops called the strikes a symptom of the disease that has grown over the years and emphasize that dialogue as the basis for solving all social conflicts should be accepted. Ways leading to trade union pluralism and the founding of associations must be found. It is the duty of those who govern to assure everyone appropriate living conditions.

Pointing out that rights come with responsibilities, the Polish bishops say: There is the duty of honesty in private, family, and public life. Work is the duty of every person. The message quotes the words of John Paul II from his homilies during pilgrimages to Poland. In Szczecin last year the pope said: In Poland, work and more work is needed. In Katowice, in 1983: Work is the duty of man to God, people, the nation, and the family. In Gdansk, last year: The state has to provide the space so that each person is able to develop himself, his personality, and his calling.

In conclusion the bishops state: A joint effort awaits us. In the name of God, we ask that no one shirk from it. No one will take up that effort for us. The history of our baptized nation teaches us that there is no situation lacking a way out. The social accords signed 8 years ago, which were drawn up so laboriously, remain a task to be fulfilled.

Council of Ministers Holds 'Stormy' Discussion

LD2808183188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that, in accordance with the recommendation contained in the Politburo's report at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the Council of Ministers has considered the possibility of introducing a price and wages freeze for a period of time. After a stormy discussion, the Council of Ministers, taking into account the views of various interests—the managements of enterprises and also trade unions—decided not to make use of the right to freeze prices and wages envisioned in the law of 11 May this year.

Simultaneously, the government will strengthen the activities limiting the growth of prices and the unjustified [word indistinct] of [word indistinct] prices in the increase of wages.

The Council of Ministers counts on the directors and managements of enterprises to respect prices and wage discipline and also on the trade unions and workers to show understanding for the necessity of such discipline as the basic means to limit inflation and reduce disequilibrium on the market.

Kiszczak Announces Meeting at 'Soonest Date'

LD2608195488 Warsaw PAP in English 1907 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—The Polish press agency was authorized to publish the following statement made by Polish minister of internal affairs, General Czeslaw Kiszczak today:

The illegal strikes are dying out. The prospect of their ending soon creates a new situation. At the same time, as is known, the crews of work establishments in which there were no strikes and of those in which strikes took or are taking place, are troubled by various problems, various postulates are being formulated.

I have been empowered, as chairman of the Law Abidingness, Public Order and Social Discipline Committee to hold a meeting at the possibly soonest date with representatives of various social and crew milieus.

It could take on the form of "a round table meeting."

I do not set any pre-conditions both as regards the subject of talks and the composition of the participants. I do, however, exclude the possibility of the participation of people rejecting the legal and constitutional order of the Polish People's Republic.

The venue and date of the meeting can be arranged through mutual consultations.

Warsaw Officials Meet Trade Union Leaders

LD2708205388 Warsaw PAP in English 2005 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—The president of Warsaw [as received] and his deputies met with the leadership of the Warsaw Trade Union Alliance here today.

The trade unionists acquainted the municipal authorities with the problems troubling the working people which were voiced during an assembly of the representatives of trade unions of a hundred big plants from the capital. They critically assessed the supply of stores and the functioning of transportation in Warsaw. It was agreed that the current problems with transportation stem from an accute shortage of bus and tram drivers owing to low wages. The participants in the meeting reviewed the possibility of diversifying the work time of some industrial plants to relieve city transportion in rush hours.

The trade unionists were informed about activities aimed at improving supply by acquiring foodstuffs from various sources. A network of stores working nights and holidays was also opened.

The president made decisons as to the jont resolving of several specific matters presented by trade unionists in the nearest future. Other vital problems will be the topic of further meetings.

Party Presidiums View Sociopolitical Situation

ZSL Critical of Strikes, Reforms

AU2608142188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—At its 23 August session the ZSL Presidium appraised the development of the sociopolitical and economic situation and condemned the strikes, especially because they are political strikes. Regardless of the intentions of individual strikers, strikes continue to create various dangers to reforms, the economy, farm production, and Poland's international position and economic cooperation with foreign countries, to damage basic social interests, and to threaten a deterioration in the working people's conditions.

ZSL members take the view that as a form of protest, strikes will not improve our economic situation and will not accelerate our reforms. On the contrary, they will increase difficulties in the flow of goods and in the entire economy and will boost inflation. Rural areas are decidedly against the concessions made by the government and plant managements with regard to wage demands put forward by illegal strikers, because this encourages other workers to demand wage increases without bearing responsibility for the results. Experience has shown that such conduct harms all honest workers. Farmers are afraid that they will have to foot the bill for the strikes and that the food situation will deteriorate.

The ZSL Presidium thinks that the present situation is harmful to people's interests and a threat to future Poland. The ZSL will participate in all efforts to politically solve the conflict and to remove its causes for the sake of social order, reasons of state, the reforms, and national accord.

We need more effective measures to solve the conflict, to respect law and order, and to tighten discipline. The presidium is for taking legal and material consequences against those who are responsible for the losses caused by strikes. It takes the view that the present situation has been caused by the incompetent and inconsistent implementation of the reforms, especially by:

—Failure to truly separate political from state power, which has led to a disregard of constitutional competences and of the principle that one is responsible for one's decisions;

—The lack of essential progress in the implementation of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD principles of coalition government, which enable partners to make joint decision and to take joint responsibility; the principle of coalition government should be primarily embodied in the composition and performance of the government;

—The poor social clarity of the economic reform, the feeble realization of it, and the defective implementation of price-incomes policy;

—Sham activities in restructuring and modernizing the economy;

—Inconsistent policy in triggering economic initiative and enterprise.

These issues were included in the 10th ZSL Congress resolutions, and life has confirmed their correctness and validity.

The ZSL Presidium decided to convene the third ZSL plenum on 31 August to discuss the socioeconomic situation and ZSL current tasks.

Chairmen of ZSL Voivodship Committees met on 23 August under ZSL Chairman Roman Malinowski to discuss the current sociopolitical and economic situation and the tasks for ZSL bodies and circles. Members of the ZSL Presidium and Secretariat and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended the meeting.

SD Notes 'Failed' Solutions

AU2608142088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—The SD Presidium appraised the sociopolitical and economic situation and came out against attempts to obtain political solutions by force—by spreading illegal strikes, which only increase the tension of the sociopolitical and economic situation, intensify the the crisis, and give rise to justified concern in Polish homes, because living conditions continue to deteriorate and our country's credibility in international relations loses its value.

The Presidium came out in favor of constructive efforts to change the difficult situation and to quickly end the strikes by negotiations.

The Presidium praised those citizens, institutions, and sociopolitical forces that, despite tension and difficulties, continue normal work in the name of patriotism and common sense and realize that the radical reforms carried out through accord and dialogue can solve Polish problems.

The Presidium analyzed the reasons for the present situation and stressed that it was caused primarily by too slow a rate of political and economic changes and by inconsistency between declarations and practice. That is why the Presidium stresses that it is necessary to accelerate the work to reform the state in order to make it democratic and strong. Changes in the principles of coalition cooperation to ensure that the allied parties are able to exert a greater influence on solving the country's important problems are some of the crucial guarantees against a return of severe crises. Views and concepts of other constructive political forces should be taken into more extensive consideration and the socially desirable shape of trade unionism should be fully determined.

The economic reform must be radically accelerated. The present solutions have clearly failed and have not produced the expected improvements. Those solutions must be replaced by the more effective ones, as often demanded by the SD. This applies especially to price-incomes policy.

The Presidium once again draws attention to the fact that we have no mechanisms to effectively stop breakdowns in the flow of consumer goods and services. It is of particular importance to:

—Switch over to determined supply policy, which is based on the taxation system that stimulates increased production in all ownership sectors of the economy;

—Eliminate red tape barriers that hinder production and service activities;

—Fully exploit domestic sources of goods, especially of farm and food products;

—Allot some convertible currencies from profitable exports to meet the needs of domestic market.

The Presidium noted that it is necessary to ensure that extensive social circles share in the work to reform the state and the economy and pointed out that young people should participate in this work so they are able to create a vision of future Poland and creatively share in the realization of this vision.

The Presidium noted that the coming session of the Sejm should thoroughly appraise the government activities aimed at solving the country's accumulating problems and, especially, to evaluate the use of the special powers granted to the Council of Ministers. The Presidium also stressed the urgent need to finally stop political factors from directly running state administration over the heads of representative bodies.

Jerzy Urban's 23 Aug Press Conference

AU2908060188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Aug 88 pp 1,5

[Transcript of government spokesman Jerzy Urban's 23 August press conference for foreign and Polish journalists at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw]

[Text] Government spokesman Jerzy Urban has met foreign and Polish journalists at the INTERPRESS Center. The press conference dealt with the current sociopolitical situation in the country. The transcript of the conference appears below.

Urban: Yesterday I was asked to assess the situation over the telephone. I said that the authorities would make public their appraisal in the evening. By that I meant General Czeslaw Kiszczak's television appearance. I would like to add the following observations of my own on the situation:

In recent weeks, even over the last few days, our political dialogue with Poles who hold various views and with independent groups was gaining momentum. This not only applies to talks behind closed doors. It was something that was also clearly in evidence in the public arena, in, for example, what was appearing in the columns of some publications. The content of dialogue was assuming an increasingly important form. We were in the process of announcing important changes in the way in which the state system operates and in key items of legislation. There was a discussion of ways in which people who hold different views from us could become extensively involved in public life and influence developments in the state, the economy, and the life of the country.

Poland was still very much affected by the impression created by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit. His stay in our country provided an illustration of the new way of thinking and highlighted the positive changes that are taking place in Polish - Soviet relations.

There has also been a gradual improvement in relations with the West, as evidenced by, for example, Foreign Minister Olechowski's visit to the United States.

There was also a very positive meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Cardinal Glemp.

We were also waiting for the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which will assess the implementation of the results of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which was so critical and opened the way to further changes.

These were the political developments that were taking place. However, somebody was running out of time and was finding all these events disturbing. The gentlemen who had for a long time now been living on memories of the past decided to reverse this course of events, which they found to their disadvantage, and catch up with their own past. So, they began this backward race.

To this end, the political groups and people in question exploited the marked increase in public dissatisfaction with the material conditions of life, supply difficulties, and rising inflation, which undermines families' sense of material security. They exploited all these negative economic phenomena, failures, difficulties, and hardships that were set out in detail at the seventh plenum. By taking advantage of low spirits, they incited strikes before the authorities could reduce economic and market difficulties, announce further political reforms, and before increased political dialogue could introduce qualitatively new elements into internal relations in Poland and into the methods of government.

We expected this to happen, that efforts would be made to incite strikes and provoke unrest in Poland. We foresaw this! I personally expected this to happen later, but those behind the strikes were well aware that time was running out and that the course of events would not give them an opportunity do so in the fall, for example.

The present events are only superficially new facts in the difficult course of Polish affairs during the 1980's. It is an attempt to turn the clock back, to revive the year 1981, which was considered a good year by only a small percentage of Poles. The repetition of old mistakes is hardly proof of a useful attitude.

Most of the strikes have been incited by Solidarity figures who were prominent in 1981. The union's full-time apparatus comprised 40,000 members, that is, it had almost four times as many members as the old Central Council of Trade Unions. Some of these 40,000 officials are still employed on a full-time basis, because in Poland for 50 dollars a month you can have a functionary who lives quite well. These functionaries have dispersed throughout the country and are strenuously working wherever possible at manipulating groups of workers with a view to inciting strikes.

My assessment is that a grave economic situation has arisen in Poland, and it is being exploited by professional organizers of political actions. I do not think that they stand much chance of success. No more than a small minority of workers in some cities have allowed themselves to be manipulated.

I predict that the situation will develop as follows: So far, no one has managed to create history by running backwards, toward the past. Our response will be to take bold steps aimed toward the future as soon as the strikes ease and the appropriate conditions arise.

Stefan Kownacki, RADIO POLONIA: Mr Minister, speaking on television yesterday evening, General Kiszczak said that about 5,000 miners were on strike out of a total mining work force of about 65,000. On the other hand, Premier Szalajda said that 2,000 were on strike out of total of 40,000 miners employed at 10 mines. Why is there this discrepancy?

Urban: Deputy Premier Szalajda met workers at 1200 midday, whereas General Kiszczak spoke late in the evening. So, the deputy premier was using information that he had that morning and information from the previous day, whereas General Kiszczak was citing the information that he had at his disposal late in the evening. Things are in state flux, the situation is changing. As we know, the strike in Silesia spread to new mines, and that is why this difference came about. What happened then was that both items were broadcast the same evening, and this obscured the fact that the statements were made at different times. I fear that the same misunderstanding might arise today, because if I am asked about some fact just now, I will tell you what I know now, at 1200, and this will be broadcast on television in the evening, by which time the facts may have changed.

Jurgen Vietig, SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: Mr Minister, could you tell us how the implementation of the decisions that Minister Kiszczak spoke about yesterday is proceeding?

Urban: So far, the governor of Katowice Voivodship has issued a public order directive instituting a curfew in Jastrzebie - Zdroj, and it only applies to that city. It limits freedom of movement between 2300 and 0500. The directive comes into force today. Failure to observe the directive constitutes a misdemeanor that will be dealt with under summary proceedings. Summary proceedings were introduced by the Katowice governor for the entire voivodship on 20 August and apply to certain categories of misdemeanors. This will apply until 30 September. The directive came into force on 22 August and will remain in force until 30 September.

Gemma Aizpitare - Heriz, EFE: Mr Minister, in the light of yesterday's government decision following the meeting of the Council of Ministers is General Jaruzelski's offer of talks with port workers in Szczecin still valid, and do the conditions that the general set still apply?

Urban: The State Council cabinet's reply to the invitation to visit Szczecin was that General Jaruzelski was ready to meet with port workers and working people in Szczecin if the strikes stop and the losses are made up as much as possible. This information, which was passed on to the director of the port and the chairman of the port self-management body, is, as far as I know, still valid. It stems from Wojciech Jaruzelski's very personal attitude toward Szczecin. General Jaruzelski has always enjoyed visiting Szczecin, because he has close ties with the city. He commanded a division there and had earlier fought in the area. Of course, there is no question of a trip of this kind taking place while strikes are taking place. The head of state is not some kind of fireguard whose job it is to extinguish strikes.

Alma Kadragic, ABC News: Mr Minister, we have reports that some departments at the Nowa Huta steelworks are on strike. Can you confirm this?

Urban: According to information received yesterday attempts to start a strike at the plant failed. A group of 375 employees from three departments stopped work for 15 minutes and listened to a speech. Production has not been interrupted at the plant. However, today workers on the third shift in the automobile body-sheet department stopped work, that is, during the night. I do not have any information about what the situation is like at present.

John Daniszewski, AP: Mr Minister, do you have any up-to-date information on the number of enterprises that are on strike, the number of employees involved in the strikes, and what number of employees in the affected enterprises support the strikes?

Urban: Yesterday (at 1800), 4,850 people were on strike at 12 mines. There were attempts to stage another two strikes, but those failed. The situation at the "Marcel" mine was unclear, because 200 people stopped work there, but the majority of the work force continued working. During the third shift, during the night, the situation deteriorated.

At the Cegielski plant, 200 workers in two departmentss are on strike. These are the figures for yesterday.

At Stalowa Wola, 180 people are on strike in the toolroom, that is part of the toolroom, and 30 people are on strike in the stamping plant.

There is still a strike in progress at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. There has been a stoppage in the first area of the commercial port in Gdansk; a small group of workers there have stopped working.

That is all, and you can add up the figures. However, there were a large number of unsuccessful attempts to stage strikes.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: To what extent is public transportation functioning in Szczecin, and how is it being run?

Urban: It is in part being run by the municipal transportation enterprise, because part of the work force has returned to work. Some of the buses have been brought in from other towns or have been supplied by the Army. The public transportation situation there is gradually improving.

Alma Kadragic, ABC NEWS: Mr Minister, yesterday evening's television newscast carried a very extensive report from Silesia. It included interviews with workers, who said that they were not being allowed to return to work, and technical staff, who described the problems that would arise in mines as a result of strikes. As I was watching it, it occurred to me that a similar report was broadcast 3 months ago from the Lenin Steelworks and that shortly after the report, during the night, public order forces entered the plant and removed the striking workers. In view of this, I would like to ask whether the government intends to employ the militia, units of the motorized reserve of the Citizens' Militia, or other forces at one or more of the mines to remove striking workers?

Urban: I do not see there being any kind of connection between the content of television programs and any possible action that might be taken by public order forces. You yourself are involved in television: Are there connections of this kind in America? However, I would like to add that the situation in the mines is alarming, because it threatens to destroy part of Poland's natural wealth. On my way here I listened to the news on the radio. The reports from Silesia really do sound dramatic: Seams are being destroyed in one place, and galleries are being destroyed elsewhere. This is something without precedent in the history of socioeconomic conflicts in Poland.

Alma Kadragic, ABC NEWS: Speaking on television yesterday evening, General Kiszczak said that appropriate steps would be taken. Do appropriate steps mean the use of armed units at one or more of the mines?

Urban: I confirm everything that General Kiszczak said on this subject yesterday. I have nothing to add. This is everything that we have to say on the subject at the moment.

Andrzej Wiecko, NEWSWEEK: Mr Minister, after listening to the answer that you gave, I fear that I will receive a similar answer, but I will try anyway. What I want to ask is: What actions will the authorities take in the event that the strikes continue or spread? For example, will consideration be given to the possibility of introducing a state of emergency in individual voivodships, those that are most affected by the strikes?

Urban: The steps that will be taken will be appropriate to the way in which the situation develops, in line with needs.

Norwegian Radio: Are there official figures for the number of people who have been arrested?

Urban: Nobody has been arrested, but there have been detentions (the legal position is different). That is, as of yesterday, 49 persons were in detention throughout the country in connection with the strikes for the period of their duration. Most of these detentions have been of a preventative kind, to provide explanations and caution people.

Stanislaw Filipczak, PAP: When will the meeting of the Extraordinary Sejm Commission, which has been announced, take place?

Urban: On 31 August at 11 o'clock. The government will be represented by Deputy Premier Zdislaw Sadowski.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: How does the government view the OPZZ's calls for a Sejm session, a meeting of the Sejm? Why did the government not respond to this in its reply to the OPZZ?

Urban: The government did not respond, because the desideratum was addressed to the Sejm. The government has no powers permitting it to convoke the Sejm, or to prevent a meeting of the Sejm from being called.

The government expressed its views on the OPZZ's position in a statement issued by the Government Press Office.

Charles Powers, LOS ANGELES TIMES: In his television speech, General Kiszczak said that 11 mines were on strike and added that nine other plants were also on strike. You do not seem to have listed all those plants. Could you list them?

Urban: I have listed all the plants recorded in my notebook as being on strike. The situation is changing all the time. For example, the railroad repair shops and the transportation enterprise in Szczecin broke off their strikes. It is not always possible to state whether an entire plant is on strike, even though a group of its workers is. A shop may be on strike, but if other shops continue to work, the plant is deemed to be at work. All this is difficult to describe with precision.

Alma Kadragic, ABC NEWS: General Kiszczak said yesterday, and you have said today that only a small proportion of workers are on strike in the plants concerned. If this is true, why is it that so few are able to enforce strikes? I have not heard that they use force, so how is it possible for them to strike?

Urban: In order to answer your question, I would have to describe the situation in every plant. Usually a strong group of strikers takes control of the gates and refuses to admit those who wish to work. Those who are not on strike then leave the plant, because it is a sit-in type of strike. Thus, there are three types of employees: There are those who are staging sit-in strikes, and those who stay at home; some workers now say that they want to work, others say nothing at all, and some arrive at their work place, but are not admitted. [sentence as published] The figures that I have given apply to those who are staging sit-in strikes.

A representative of the Netherlands press: There are rumors of possible talks between Lech Walesa and representatives of the government. Can you confirm this?

Urban: For years now the authorities have said that they are not interested in where someone comes from, but only in what they bring with them—whether they bear goodwill and whether they display a desire to reach agreement or effect a compromise. We are ready to talk to any citizen on this basis. However, at this time, when Lech Walesa is leading a strike in the shipyard, it is not the right moment to ask about talks with Lech Walesa. Perhaps we would have to jump over the shipyard walls to hold talks. There can be no political talks when strikes are being used to hold us at gunpoint.

John Daniszewski, AP: Does the government not bear responsibility for the strikes, for dissatisfaction with living conditions, and for economic conditions? What prospects are there for an appraisal of price movements and appropriate wage increases?

Urban: The government undoubtedly bears an important part of the responsibility for the economic situation. My answer to your question—does the government bear the responsibility for the strikes?—is a definite no. The government is aiming to reduce the rate at which prices are rising. These price movements are being offset by wage increases. There is an absence of restraint with respect to wage growth; wage increases are excessive in relation to the supply of goods, and this results in economic disorder. The entire situation will be initially appraised by the Sejm commission and then further appraised during talks between the government and the trade unions. What is needed is a more far-reaching assessment of the economic situation. This is of key importance for Poland. At this point, I can only indicate the range of issues involved.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: I understand that the government does not want to speak on these matters at a special Sejm session. However, could you tell us what your opinion is of the statement made by Mr Miodowicz that appeared in yesterday's SZTANDAR MLODYCH? Mr Miodowicz stressed once again particularly strongly that the government simply ignored all the advice offered by the OPZZ.

Urban: The nature of dialogue between the government and the trade unions is such that the statements made by the unions always assume something of an extreme form. The government could cite many facts proving that it did not ignore the advice that it was given, and that it took account of the unions' views every time it took any action. However, at the seventh plenum and at the Sejm session, the government admitted that prices and incomes policy during the first half of this year was unsuccessful and largely ineffective, and the policy was, therefore, inappropriate.

I read the interview given by Alfred Miodowicz, and I can understand and respect his bitter words of criticism, although the criticism is not justified in every instance.

Gemma Aizpitare - Heriz, EFE: Will any important changes in the government's course be announced at the extraordinary Sejm session, changes aimed at making it more reform-oriented?

Urban: I announced a meeting of the extraordinary Sejm commission that will assess how effectively the government has used the special powers that were granted to it by the Sejm during the last quarter.

An extraordinary meeting of the Sejm was proposed in a desideratum submitted by the trade union movement.

As for your second question, I would say that the authorities genuinely want to make reform processes more efficient and to tailor them to suit social expectations. Current economic policy aimed at improving the supply of goods is geared toward this, and, among other things, about $300 million have been allocated to import production inputs or commodities that could at least partially improve the situation in the marketplace. However, we need more radical action that would improve the situation to a greater extent on a long-term basis.

Renate Marsch, DPA: I have an additional question concerning talks. Is it true that Mr Sila-Nowicki, a member of the Consultative Council, went to Jastrzebie on Sunday and was not allowed into the mine? It seems that he had a very important role to play at Gdansk at the beginning of May and that he had very close contacts with General Kiszczak. Can it be assumed that on this occasion he went to Jastrzebie without General Kiszczak's knowledge, or would that be wrong?

Urban: Various people with intentions of goodwill are trying to improve the situation, and we have great respect for Mr Sila-Nowicki's efforts. However, access to the mine, where a sit-in strike is in progress, and where below ground there is a danger of fire and of walls collapsing could explain why Mr Sila - Nowicki was not admitted to the site. However, this does not mean that he could not carry out his mission of goodwill.

Renate Marsch, DPA: There is one more matter concerning the mines that I would like to raise. It seems that what appears to be the most important issues for the miners is extra pay for work performed from Sunday through Friday [as published]. Would the government be prepared to approve this, and to what extent? What does the government intend to do to encourage miners to work on Saturdays? There seems to be shortage of willing hands.

Urban: It is very difficult to answer your final question at the moment. Once the strikes are over, we will need to evaluate the manpower and resources at our disposal and produce a concept for reorganizing coal mining in the mines that are on strike, and this does not only apply to bringing work forces up to their full strength. So, the question is premature, and at the present time I cannot give a concrete answer to the question of how work will be organized to restore mining in the mines that are on strike to its former state in terms of personnel and in a technical and geological sense.

Pay ratios in mining are as follows: 70 percent of wages are paid for the first 5 days of the week and 30 percent for the remaining days, which in practical terms means Saturdays. Work performed on Saturdays is particularly well paid for so that mines can operate 6 days per week.

On many occasions we have heard it said that with an increase in work and goodwill, it would be possible to mine as much over the course of 5 days as it is over 6 days, if enough is paid for work performed during the 5 days. However, practice shows that this is not the case. Trials conducted in 1981 showed that there was a drastic decline in Saturday output levels, that is, when work performed on a voluntary basis was not particularly well-paid.

Talks between the federation of mining unions and the Iron and Steel Association have recently ended. New regulations on the principles behind setting wage levels came into force on 1 August. In line with requests made by the trade unions, there has been an increase in the basic rate for additional pay, such as overtime pay, pay for work performed at night, and work performed under conditions that pose a risk to health.

In addition, there are plans for changes in the wage system. However, I can only speak about this in very loose terms and not on behalf of the government. For example, there are plans to pay a certain rate for every ton of coal mined under a given set of conditions regardless of when it is mined. This would go some way toward meeting the calls that are being heard, but there are also critics of this kind of solution who maintain that it would result in another drop in output levels.

This is not the time to think about ways of reducing working hours; what we need to consider now are ways of increasing output to make up for losses that have been sustained, losses that are growing so rapidly that the figures quoted yesterday are no longer valid today. Unfortunately, this is always the case in a sector as important for Poland as coal mining.

Jiri Wasko, CTK: Mr Minister, the prelates responsible for the dioceses of Katowice and Szczecin have called on the faithful to remain calm and have asked striking workers to protect national wealth. According to reports, striking workers have not heeded these calls all that much. Does this mean that the Catholic Church in Poland does not have as much influence as it claims to have, and as would appear to be the case from the results of some public opinion polls?

Urban: The influence of the Catholic Church is great. However, the influence that it has on people varies according to the issues involved. It is not enough to say do not steal in order to stop people from stealing. It is not enough to say do not drink in order to make drinking decline. This is true regardless of whether it is said by the state authorities, the Church, or some other institution that enjoys more or less prestige and obedience. It has to be understood that the strikes were called by small groups of people who are very determined and the least receptive to words of reason. If these groups were to act in accordance with the dictates of reason, then they would not have called the strikes in the first place.

John Daniszewski, AP: Are there any plans to introduce curfews in the voivodships of Gdansk and Szczecin?. Second, what is happening about your plans to go to Munich, to Radio Free Europe?

Urban: There are plans of this kind; this became apparent from General Kiszczak's address. However, such plans were not being implemented as I arrived here; the appropriate voivodship authorities had not made any decisions.

As for my trip to Munich, I have received a reply from Mr Pell. It seems that it will not be possible for me to enter the Radio Free Europe building or to meet the Polish section. The reply contains some other proposals, but they would not, at first sight, justify a trip to Munich. So, I believe that my proposal, which was previously accepted, has now been rejected. However, I do not want to make this sound categorical, because I wish to reply to Mr Pell's letter, and I still hope that Radio Free Europe will perhaps be bold enough to take the risk of allowing me in to meet the Polish section. So, I do not want to close the door on this matter. At the moment, however, more important things are going on in Poland, and I do not even have time to reply to Mr Pell's letter; were it not for the tense situation in the country, I would have been on vacation and I would not have known about his reply.

Renate Marsch, DPA: A lot is being said about people putting their names on the lists of those who want to work, but this is only spoken about in relation to individual plants. Do you have a figure for all the mines, for all those who have signed the lists saying that they want to work? We know how many have signed lists at individual plants and how many people are at their enterprises, but how many people have stayed at home or gone on vacation?

Urban: I do not have any total figures. I will try to find out whether this has been calculated by the mining industry, and I will tell you whether the information exists.

Alma Kadragic, ABC NEWS: Mr Minister, I do not quite understand what you said about the way in which the the situation will be resolved, because, on the one hand, the authorities have rejected the possibility of sending some representative or representatives who would be acceptable to the striking workers to speak to them, and, on the other hand, you have expressed yourself in very vague terms on the subject of pay increases that could be awarded. In fact, the only concrete thing we have heard concerns curfews and increasing the presence of public order forces in areas where there are strikes. In what way can this produce a solution?

Urban: In many strikebound enterprises, talks are taking place between work force representatives and management, and managers are workers' partners with respect to many concrete matters. These talks are productive. In some plants trade unions are supporting economic demands. Many of these talks are still in progress. So, it is not true to say that there is no dialogue between, on the one hand, workers who are on strike or not on strike and enterprise authorities, which, under the economic reform, have the necessary powers to deal with plant affairs and demands. To put it simply, talks are being conducted by those employer representatives who today have the appropriate powers to deal with appropriate matters.

'Summary Procedure' Introduced in Bydgoszcz

LD2708225288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2200 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] The Bydgoszcz Voivoda introduced summary procedure for proceedings before misdemeanor courts. It will be in force from 1 September to 31 October in Bydgoszcz, Inowroclaw, Chojnice, Nakel, and Swiecie on the Vistula. Perpetrators who disturb order and public discipline, violate the principles of social [word indistinct], and do not obey the law on the maintenance of sobriety will be subject to summary procedure before misdemeanor courts.

Arrest of Jan Strzelecki's Murderers Detailed

LD2708014088 Warsaw PAP in English
2330 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—Details of the arrest of suspected murderers of Jan Strzelecki and of the investigation into the case were presented at a press conference at the police headquarters here today.

The assault was initiated and actually carried out by Marek Marzec, 18, permanently living in Stropkowice in the Plock Voivodship, now having a temporary employment in the FSO car plant here. On June 29, he and his work-mate Krzysztof Chrobocinski, 24, looked for drunks, as they put it, expecting easy theft. About 2 in the morning they strolled down on the river bank and spotted a passenger car parked in a bus stop bay with the driver inside. Then Marzec decided to make the hit.

Scared by a passing car they decided to pull the fainting victim closer to the river. They then took 90,000 zlotys from Strzelecki's pockets and divided the money into halves. The investigation showed that the three suspects had perpetrated dozens of other robberies. Marzec and Chrobocinski confessed to commiting this crime.

Internal Ministry spokesman Wojciech Garstka said that there had been a campaign to give a political meaning to the murder of Jan Strzelecki. Polish-language radio stations in the West suggested that Strzelecki was a victim of a attack organized by security services. RFE broadcast an appeal signed at the end of last July by several dozen intellectuals expressing their disapproval of the fact that the murderers had not by then been traced. The appeal read: "This causes concern. The murder of Jan Strzelecki is an alarm signal [that] time is high to stop lawlessness, violence in Poland."

There was also a placcard at the funeral saying that the deceased was the victim of "the same devils that killed Father Popieluszko." Will the signatories of the appeal now decide to admit making groundless insinuations, the spokesman asked.

Ceausescu Meets With Hungary's Grosz in Arad

Grosz Received at Border

LD2808084088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Excerpts] In Arad, the Hungarian and Romanian party leaders have started their meeting. First, Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu themselves held talks in the country's party committee building; afterward, the substantive part of the working meeting began.

Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and Council of Ministers chairman, arrived in Arad at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, party general secretary and state president. [passage omitted]

The delegation was received at Nagylak, the Hungarian-Romanian border station, by Ion Stoian, RCP Central Committee secretary and candidate member of the Political Executive Committee; and by several representatives of the county party committee and the people's council.

Grosz, Ceausescu Begin Talks

LD2808071588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0653 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Aug (AGERPRES)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian Peoples Republic, arrived in Arad on Sunday, August 28, in the morning, for a working meeting with Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On arrival, in the city central square, the guest was cordially welcomed by Nicolae Ceausescu.

A military guard presented arms.

The state anthems of the Hungarian Peoples Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania were played.

A group of Young Pioneers presented the two leaders with nice bunches of flowers.

Offical talks started between Nicolae Ceausescu and Karoly Grosz right after the arrival.

'Substantive' Part of Talks Start

LD2808111688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Excerpt] In Arad, the Hungarian and Romanian party leaders have commenced their meeting. Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu first held private talks lasting 20 minutes in the county party committee building. Following this, the substantive part of the working meeting, talks between the two delegations opened.

A few minutes before 1000, the following took their places at the negotiations: on the Hungarian side—Karoly Grosz, Matyas Szuros, Central committee Secretary; Laszlo Major, head of the Central Committee Bureau; Imre Szokai, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department; and Pal Szuts, Hungarian ambassador to Bucharest; and on the Romanian side—Ion Stoian and Silviu Curticeanu, secretaries of the Central Committee; Constantin Mitea, deputy chief of the Propaganda and Media Section; Nicolae Mihai, deputy chief of the Foreign Relations Section; and Deputy Foreign Minister Traian Pop. The reception was cordial. The Hungarian and Romanian flags are flying on the building and the national anthems of the two countries were played. [passage omitted]

Talks 'Open a New Chapter'

LD2808133788 Budpest MTI In English 1211 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and premier, who spent the Saturday night in Szeged, on Sunday morning accompanied by his party left by car for Arad to the highest level Hungarian-Romanian party meeting.

As it is known Karoly Grosz was invited by Nicolae Ceausescu, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist party and the president of the State Council. In the proposal of the Romanian side Nagyvarad (Oradea) and Arad was indicated as negotiation location, but the possibility of hosting the working meeting in Bucharest was not excluded. The Hungarian side selected Arad, the township of 200 thousand people with long historical traditions which still preserved its old beauty.

Arad opens a new chapter in the series of Hungarian-Romanian meetings. Last time the highest level meetings were held on June 15-16, 1977 in Debrecen and Nagyvarad (Oradea), where Janos Kadar and Nicolae Ceausescu had negotiations. The present working meeting was a quick decision. The joint understanding on the meeting was reached almost within 24 hours. After the Thursday proposal of Nicolae Ceausescu the highest level meeting was started on Sunday.

Arad showed its Sunday face to the guests. Lot of people were strolling on the sunny main square which is surrounded by buildings. The traffic was stopped early on the road stretch along which the guests arrived but quite a few people lined up to both sides of the road. In the neighbourhood of the meeting site no people were in sight because that square was sealed off and only officials were permitted to enter the zone of the building.

Nicolae Ceausescu spent the Saturday in Arad and made a working visit. He met his guest at the historical and redecorated old council house which serves as the county party headquarters today.

The 70 M long walk to the marble stairs was covered with a red carpet and the facade of the building was decorated with the Hungarian and Roman [as received] flags. The reception was cordial. Military parade lined up and the national anthems were played.

Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu held a 20 minutes private meeting on the first floor of the building where only interpreters were present. Before the discussion films and pictures were taken by the press.

After this discussion Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu went to the council hall where the other participants of the meeting were also present. The meeting started shortly before 10, local time. On the Hungarian Side Karoly Grosz, Matyas Szuros, HSWP CC secretary, Laszlo Major, head of the HSWP CC Bureau, Imre Szokai, deputy head of the HSWP Foreign Affairs Department and Pal Szuts, the Hungarian ambassador to Bucharest were present.

On the Romanian side Nicolae Ceausescu, Ion Stoian, RCP CC secretary, Silviu Curticeanu, RCP CC secretary, Constantin Mitea, first deputy of the RCP CC Department of Press and Propaganda, Nicolae Mihai, deputy head of the RCP CC Department of Foreign Affairs and Traian Pop, deputy minister of Foreign Affairs were present.

Leaders Hold 'Intensive' Exchange; Toast

LD2808144888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Excerpts] We came to Arad intending to cooperate, said Karoly Grosz at the gala lunch given by Nicolae Ceausescu in honor of the Hungarian party leader. Istvan Kulcsar reports from the spot with the details.

[Kulcsar] Our talks began positively; this is a new start in our relations, said Nicolae Ceausescu, in his toast at the lunch given in honor of Karoly Grosz. The Hungarian party general secretary said in reply: We came to Arad with open hearts and intending the greatest possible cooperation. The first phase of the talks has convinced us that in the interests of our peoples and our parties, we must further search for the possibility of cooperation, and we must meet more often. [passage omitted]

This plenary meeting lasted 3 and ½ hours, after which Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu held further private talks for over 40 minutes. After this came the gala lunch which I spoke of at the beginning of my report.

The Romanian-Hungarian party general secretary talks continued in the afternoon.

Great international interest is being manifested in the Arad meeting, which can be measured by the fact that there are around 20 reporters in Arad from socialist and capitalist countries.

Naturally, I cannot report anything substantive as yet about the subjects and standing of the negotiations. For the time being, all that can be established is that an intensive exchange of opinions is underway and that the two sides have things to say to each other. A more extensive briefing can be expected this evening, perhaps late this evening.

Lunch Toasts Excerpted

LD2808201488 Budapest MTI in English 1859 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Arad, august 28 (MTI)—The first negotiation of Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu lasted three and a half hours. At the meeting no break was held.

Thereafter the members of the delegations went to the reception hall, but Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu retreated to a further private talk which lasted 40 minutes. Following, the two leaders entered the reception hall where Nicolae Ceausescu gave a gala lunch in honour of his guest. At the lunch the members of the parties also participated.

In the flashlights of the media both leaders held toasts.

Ceausescu highlighted that he found the discussions started well and developed in a positive way, 'with the common will to find those means by which we could strengthen the cooperation of our parties and people and good neighbourly relations, in order to look into the future with confidence.' He expressed the hope that the negotiations mean a new start in the development of the relations.

Karoly Grosz appreciated the invitation and the cordial welcome. 'On the commission of our party we came here in the spirit of the utmost cooperation. The first stage of the meeting convinced us that in the interest of our parties and people, further opportunities of cooperation are ahead of us. It is my conviction that we have to meet more frequently in order to get familiar with each others' stand and in the joint discussions of good will to explore the fields of cooperation. I do believe that primarily not by words but by deeds we could contribute to the cause of the universal progress and in practical cooperation express our intent. The cooperation between our people could be a contribution to the cause of peace in the interest of detente and mankind'—he said. Finally he wished all the best to the nations of Romania on the road of constructing socialism, to the RCP to completely fulfil its leading role and good health to Nicolae Ceausescu.

Following the gala lunch Karoly Grosz and his party went to the reserved hotel park, and along the River Maros for a short time.

In the afternon at 4 o'clock local time the negotiations were continued with the participation of the delegations. Following the meeting an international press conference was held in the gala hall of the building.

At the press conference, after a brief introduction Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu responded to the questions of the media.

Grosz Toast to Romanian Peoples

LD2808212688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] We now sum up today's talks in Arad between Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Hungarian-Romanian meeting ended in Arad after talks lasting for nearly 8 hours. Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as the delegations, held discussions in the morning and in the afternoon, and they also conducted a 20-minute and then a 40-minute tete-a-tete. At noon a festive lunch was held in honor of the Hungarian guests.

Nicolae Ceausescu said that discussions are proceeding favorably, and expressed the hope that the Arad meeting will represent a new beginning in the advancement of relations between the two parties and the two peoples.

We now recall Karoly Grosz's toast from a recording:

[Begin Grosz recording] Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, our esteemed hosts: On behalf of our delegation and myself I would like to thank you for the meeting, for the nice reception. We have come here as emmissaries of our party with an open heart and with the intention of engaging in the most extensive cooperation. The first stage of our talks, negotiations, convince us that in the interest of our parties and peoples, more possibilities for cooperation are facing us.

It is my conviction that we must meet more often and learn each other's point of view and reveal the possibilities of cooperation in mutually well-intentioned exchanges of views.

I believe that we can contribute not primarily by words, but by deeds to the cause of universal progress; our intention can be expressed by concrete cooperation. Politicians have a great opportunity to influence the development of their country. This also means great responsibility. But the real engine of creativity, development, is the creative man, the man who, in the service of a just cause, fights and works for his people, his homeland.

Good international conditions are also needed for the realization of our national endeavors. The building of socialism requires peace. Cooperation between our peoples can contribtue to detente and, in the interest of humanity, to the presevation of peace. I believe that at this meeting of ours we have contributed to this great work with a modest building bloc.

I shall seize this opportunity once again to wish a great deal of success to the peoples [plural as heard] of Romania on the road of socialist construction, to the Romanian Communist Party, that it should fulfill wholly its leading role. And I wish you, Comrade Ceausescu, good health. Please allow me to raise my glass to friendship between our peoples and parties, to our cooperation, to your health. [end recording]

[Presenter] The talks ended at 1800 Hungarian time. The two leaders then answered journalists' questions at an international press conference.

Leaders Conclude Talks at 1900

LD2801191180 Budapest MTI in English 1808 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Arad, August 28 (MTI)—On Sunday at Arad the negotiations of Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu lasted 460 minutes. The morning 210 minute long session was followed by a 190 minute discussion in the afternoon, and during the day the two leaders held a 20 and a 40 minute private talk.

The negotiations ended at 1900 hours local time. Following the negotiations Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu participated at an international press conference at the decorated gala hall in the building of the county party committee.

Grosz, Ceausescu Hold News Conference

LD2808223188 Budapest MTI in English 2049 GMT 28 Aug 88

["Grosz-Ceausescu-Press conference"—MTI Headline]

[Text] Arad, August 28 (MTI)—At first Nicolae Ceausescu summarized the experience of the meeting. He found it useful and necessary which led to good results. Further he said that at the discussions held in an open, comradely atmosphere the relations of the two countries and parties were discussed and opinions exchanged on the development of the cooperation. At the meeting the life of ithe two countries and international issues were also touched on.

He pointed out: 'By discussing a wide range of issues, we started out from those principles which form the basis of the relations of our countries and which are included in the cooperation and friendship agreement of both countries. We concluded that the interests of both peoples require the development of cooperation, for the appropriate forming of good neighbourly relations, the economic and social progress of both countries, the construction of socialism, and the increase in the material and intellectual level of the Hungarian and Romanian people. We found important that our relation should serve the wider interests of socialism, the cause of creating that unified Europe which is built on the differences of the social systems and the respect of the right of all people to develop their own country without outside interference and according to their own will. We came to a common understanding—said Nicolae Ceausescu—that in the economic-technical-scientific and cultural coopeation, in the different exchanges, such as tourism, everying could be accomplished under the present circumstances. Namely there is a need for widening the exchange of information about experiences in order to better understand the problems of each other's country and to be able to find the opportunities of cooperation in widening fields.

'There are issues in which the differences of opinions remained—hinted the Romanian general secretary. But we agreed that those subjects have to be placed in the foreground in which our stands are identical or very close. Regarding the general issues we have to continue the work of bringing the stances closer for reaching understanding in the cooperaiton in those fields in which the differences of opinions persist. Our starting point is that socialism is constructed under different conditions in the individual countries and that each party and people should independently choose the road of the socialist construction.

Life itself has proved that this is the only correct way in this direction. During the present meeting we agreed on this issue. We do think that even if in some more general theoretical or practical issues differences exist between us, these should not be overemphasized and we have to make efforts to understand one another better and to put those problems in the foreground on which our stance is common. We can say that in most issues, including the questions of the construction of socialism, we managed to create a common stance.

Naturally issues which require further thinking and discussion remained, but the framework on which we reached agreement, provides good and broad perspectives in the cooperaion between our people and parties. At the negotiation we started out from that sense of responsibility that we all feel for our people and parties, that our peoples living as neighbors for centuries should develop their contacts and friendship, and there is no other way but cooperation in order to assure the progress, well-being and independence for all people. The only people who can decide what type of policy to pursue is the people of the given country. No one should consider themselves as the trustee of truth in all issues.

Nicolae Ceausescu finally expressed conviction that the present agreements will be important elements of the further relations of the two peoples. He said: the RCP and its leadership makes all its best to widen further the friendship and cooperation with the Hungarian people and the Hungarian communists. [sentence as received]

Next, Karoly Grosz expounded in his statement: The HSWP Political Committee accepted the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu with great interest.

'We came with great expectations and we are not disappointed. The useful, open, realistic, and negotiation held in a good atmosphere provided an opportunity and possibility to discuss our bilateral problems. [sentence as received] We had the opportunity to inform the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party on the efforts of the HSWP and we were able to learn their opinion on the bilateral relations and that way of thinking as our Romanian comrades study the issues of the construction of socialism. We discussed all issues which concern the Hungarian public and the party members, which could have an impact on our future cooperation.

As Comrade Ceausescu also stressed: The two peoples, the two countries have lived alongside one another for several centuries on this continent, through good and bad times. There were tensions, and there are differences in views, most of which originate, and are nurtured from the past. Socialism today is not able to ease all these problems. We have to undertake this together, as this is mainly our affair. A creative atmosphere and openness are needed for this. This openness and sincerity has made it possible for me to acknowledge: There are many things we do not know about one another, and we have scant information on many issues. There are also issues in which the concept of our approach differs. At the same time, I also experienced that we were able to discuss almost all issues, exchange views with an intention of assistance, and I am convinced that the debated issues can also be solved with common will.

'Our talks were characterized by the sense of responsibility which we feel towards our people when shaping our policy, and towards the socialist world and universal human interests and efforts. My view is similar to my negotiating partner: Qualifying our policy on the basis of practical experiences is first and foremost the task of our peoples.

'We unanimously made efforts to seek the opportunities of cooperation, therefore we mainly agreed on issues related to production. We believe that we have already achieved praiseworthy results in this field, but we cannot be satisfied as we believe we mutually have considerable reserves. Major opportunities are presented mainly in scientific research, production cooperation, the operation of joint ventures, and the exploration of markets outside our countries. We mutually hold it important for the peoples to also carry out diplomatic activity, alongside the politicians. Therefore we encourage tourism: Our peoples should become familiar with the life, natural riches, fundamentals of one another's country, and should enjoy the advantages originating from friendship.'

'We believe that the historical past also justifies to explore many issues, therefore we agreed to encourage the work of the historical joint committee, and we also ask the cultural joint committee to organize our cultural relations, to work on cultural cooperation. There was agreement between us also in that we should turn greater attention to fostering our common progressive traditions than in the past. With common intention we shall extend the exchange of journalists, so that we be able to present even more realistic information and knowledge to our peoples through the mass media. I am convinced that our meeting was a successful contribution to the efforts for detente, for cooperation between the peoples. I can state that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party considers it its principled and political obligation to fully observe all previous and current agreements, and to organize the intensification of relations between the various organs of state, society and economy with the means of politics. It is my personal conviction that the leaders of our parties, the directors of the state and social organs and institutes should meet more regularly, so that we have more information not only on the entire whole, but also on its parts,' said Karoly Grosz in conclusion. He used the occasion to wish much success to the peoples of Romania in building socialism.

In the following, the general secretaries answered questions. Nicolae Ceausescu was the first to answer. He said: He believes that the most important obligation of the information means of both countries is to always present realities without forming an opinion on the basis of not sufficiently well-founded views. The press, radio and television should serve the interests of friendship and cooperation between our peoples and the peoples in general. The agreement, which envisages the development of relations between the journalists' associations of the two countries, making possible the regular exchanges of journalists to better understand one another's country, was reached at the talks in this interest.

A question of another journalist referred to the standpoint created in the minority issues. In his reply, the Romanian general secretary referred to the fact that many issues were discussed, naturally including ones that concern the citizens of various nationalities. At the talks, he stressed, they started from the fact that solving these issues is the task of the parties and governments of the two countries, and only the general raising of the living standard, and socialist building can ensure prosperity to the concerned states.

The cooperation between the two people and the two countries should contribute to the construction of socialism and to the improvement of living standards in both countries.

Karoly Grosz responding to a question said: He is present at the press conference as general secretary and premier and for this reason he is in a position to say that at the administration's level we do wish to deepen dialogue and to make it open and sincere as well as party relations.

To the inquiry related to the discussions on family reunification Nicolae Ceausescu said that neither in the future do they wish to encourage the citizens to leave their country. Those who still decide to live in another country will be given the opportunity to realize their intentions. At the negotiations, both sides held people should live in the country where they were born, and construct socialism there and seek prosperity.

During the day Matyas Szuros laid a wreath at the memorial of the Arad martyrs. At the memorial event Pal Szuts was also present.

Following the press conference Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu attended a farewell ceremony. The military parade marched on the square before the County House, which was decorated with the Hungarian and Romanian flags and photographs of the two party general secretaries. The host and his guest walked before the military unit. The national anthems of Hungary and Romania was played and Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu said goodbye, the Hungarian general secretary was driven off by car heading for Hungary.

Grosz Leaves After 'Open, Comradely' Talks

AU2808185888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 28 Aug 88

["Working Meeting Between Nicolae Ceausescu and Karoly Grosz Concludes"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/8/1988—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, had a working meeting in Arad today.

In the evening, at the end of the talks, a press conference was held attended by Romanian and foreign journalists.

In their statements to the press the two leaders assessed that the working meeting and the talks were held in an open, comradely spirit, a number of questions of mutual interest being approached with regard to the relations between the two parties, countries and peoples, and to their development ways in future.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Karoly Grosz showed good appreciation for their working meeting and talks, with emphasis on the significance of the common understandings reached.

The same evening, the ceremony took place of the departure of Comrade Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Historic Meeting Reviewed

AU2908080788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2103 GMT 28 Aug 88

["Communique on the Working Meeting Between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Karoly Grosz—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/08/1988— On the basis of the understandings covenanted, a working meeting was held in Arad on August 28, 1988, between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The talks were attended:

- For Romania by: Comrades Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Silviu Curticeanu, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Constantin Mitea, councillor of the President of the Republic, first deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP, Nicolae Mihai, deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP, Traian Girba, chairman of the Union of Productive Cooperative Farms, Traian Pop, ambassador, other officials.

- For Hungary by: Comrades Matyas Szuros, secretary of the CC of the HSWP, Laszlo Major, head of section and head of the chancellory of the CC of the HSWP, Imre Sockay, deputy head of section at the CC of the HSWP, Pal Szuts, Hungary's ambassador to Romania, other officials.

The leaders of the two parties informed each other about the main current concerns of socialist construction in the two countries. Opinions were exchanged related to the stage of the Romanian-Hungarian ties of friendship, collaboration and good neighbourliness as well as to some international aspects.

Conducted in a constructive, working spirit, the talks evinced the common wish to find the ways to strengthen collaboration between our parties and peoples, to act for the surmounting of certain problems which occurred in the Romanian-Hungarian relations and for the further development of ties of friendship and good neighbourhood. It was stressed that that corresponded to the Romanian and Hungarian peoples, to their active cooperation in the work of building the new system and raising the welfare and civilization standards, the cause of socialism and peace. In the context, the special significance was underscored of intensifying contacts and the exchange of views on all questions concerning the consolidation of friendship and the development of bilateral collaboration.

It was underlined that the steadily growing economic and technical-scientific potential of the two countries as well as the results obtained in mutual economic collaboration provided favourable conditions for the still more powerful growth of economic exchanges, for the deepening of production specialization and cooperation in production.

The determination of Romania and of Hungary was also expressed to work for the development of relations on a cultural, scientific and tourist plane, for interchanges of delegations and experience, including journalists, which is apt to contribute to better mutual acquaintance, to the promotion of understanding and friendship between our peoples and countries.

During the talks it was stressed that the intensification of the Romanian-Hungarian collaboration for the socioeconomic development of the two countries and peoples was also a contribution to the cause of peace in Europe and the world over.

The two general secretaries underscored the need to meet in future whenever necessary with a view to discussing questions of joint interest.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu gave a luncheon in honour of Comrade Karoly Grosz. During the luncheon toasts were proposed for the consolidation of the Romanian-Hungarian friendship and collaboration.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Karoly Grosz expressed their conviction that their meeting and talks would mark an important moment in the future development of bilateral relations, in the consolidation of friendship and good neighbourliness between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, between the Romanian and Hungarian peoples.

The talks passed in a sincere, open atmosphere of mutual esteem and respect.

Ceausescu Visits Arad Before Grosz Arrival

LD2708171288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu has arrived in Arad for, according to an official communique of the Bucharest news agency, a working visit in the country's industrial and agricultural units.

As we reported earlier, Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, will meet Nicolae Ceausescu in Arad tomorrow. At the discussion they evidently will talk about the disputed issues between the two countries, the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania, as well as the consequences of the village liquidation program.

Western news agency bureaus draw attention to the fact that tomorrow's meeting will be taking place in an atmosphere of deterioration in relations since the two party leaders' last meeting 11 years ago.

Tours Farms, Factories

AU2708162588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1547 GMT 27 Aug 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Arad County" - AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/08/1988—On Saturday, August 27, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, paid a working visit to the County of Arad.

The first unit seen round was the machine tool enterprise, one of the most important units of the Romanian relevant industry. The enterprise, now in its 40th year, has known the most productive stage in its activity in the past two decades, when its production increased tenfold. Over the same interval, the technical standard and the quality of the lathes made in Arad improved, with the share of products manufactured according to world standards going up from ten per cent in 1984 to 86 per cent at present.

At present, the enterprises assimilates outfit and automatic technological lines, which boast great complexity and a high technical standard. Noteworthy among them are the line for the production of pistons to equip heat engines, precision lathes for fine mechanics, digital-controlled parallel lathes, a.o.

In every section seen round, President Nicolae Ceausescu discussed with the workers about the smooth run of production, about their work and their lives. The president closely inquired about the way in which plan tasks are fulfilled, about the quality and competitivity of the lathes manufactured there, about the level of pay, about working and living conditions and the resolution of problems of a social nature.

A meeting was held with members of the enterprise's working people's council.

President Nicolae Ceausescu had words of appreciation for the collectivity's achievements and showed that the enterprise in Arad should keep up with new demands and manufacture high-tech, high-quality machine tools needed both to equip the Romanian industry and to ensure Romania's increased participation in international exchanges of material assets.

At the end of the visit, before the thousands of workers and experts present on the platform inside the enterprise, the president expressed great satisfaction at the results of that diligent collectivity, congratulating them on their successes that far and urging them to do their utmost for the enterprise to manufacture equipment of the best quality to enjoy great appreciation at home and abroad.

The visit continued at the textile enterprise of Arad, the largest such unit in the cotton industry.

Just as in the case of the machine tools enterprise, President Nicolae Ceausescu saw round key production sectors and talked to textile workers.

During a meeting with members of the working people's council, emphasis was placed on concerns and measures for the exemplary fulfilment of the plan for the ongoing year and the five-year period as a whole, for the rise in the efficiency of the entire activity of the enterprise.

Taking the floor, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that he had fine impressions of the results the collectivity of the unit scored in the ongoing year in the achievement of physical production and of the production intended for export, in boosting quality, and in cutting back on the consumption of raw and subsidiary materials and fuels. The special importance was underscored of improving the professional, technical and political training of the working personnel, of ensuring a more active involvement of the working people's council and of the general assembly in management, in the resolution of the problems related to the smooth run of production and work.

The same day in the afternoon, President Nicolae Ceausescu visited the Commune of Pecica, seeing round the terrains of the local producer cooperative farm. He talked to cooperative farmers, experts and representatives of local party and state bodies about problems related to the plant and animal production achieved by that large farming unit.

The dialogue focused on questions linked to the organization and updating of rural localities in the County of Arad and of the commune seen round in particular. President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that as part of the actions to modernize these localities, steps should be taken to consolidate important rural settlements, to ensure the stability of their population, to develop industrial-type activities and services, to continuously raise the quality of life in these future agroindustrial townlets. In connection with the fulfilment of the provisions under the project for the organization and modernization of the Commune of Pecica, he requested that its economic base should be further developed by expanding small-scale industrial and handicraft activities and services to the population, that a proper housing stock should be preserved, with flats being granted to experts, and that an agroindustrial lyceum, as well as other units of sociocultural interest should be built.

In the centre of the commune of Pecica, where several thousand residents had gathered, Nicolae Ceausescu made an address, that was followed with keen attention.

Referring to the plan for the organization and modernization of Pecica Commune, which had been shown to him, the president stressed that the process to take that locality to the level of an agroindustrial town, would have to proceed diligently, thriftily and gradually, by blending the old with the new and by ensuring the facilities needed to improve people's lives.

This locality, the RCP general secretary said, cannot be turned into an agroindustrial town in two years, nor in five years. We must set off by strengthening the economic base of the commune, by increasing farm production, by organizing the material base for the development of education and of social services, all while building, until 1995, a civic centre and the necessary edifices. By the year 2000, Pecica will be able to turn into an agroindustrial town apt to provide its residents with everything they need.

Mentioning that in the commune Romanians and Romanians of Magyar nationality live and work side by side, President Nicolae Ceausescu underlined that, no matter their origin, all those living there were fine citizens and enjoyed the same luminous prospects.

In conclusion, the party general secretary wished all Pecica residents further successes in getting rich crops, in turning their locality into an agroindustrial town, progress in their work and superior results, so that their contribution to the development of Arad county, to the general flowering of their socialist homeland may increase even more.

After his visit to the Commune of Pecica, President Nicolae Ceausescu returned to Arad Municipality.

Sarajevo Strikers at Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly

LD2608161688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Workers of the metal fittings factory of Sarajevo's Energoinvest, who have now been on strike for 3 days demanding a pay rise, arrived at the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina today because they failed to find a solution within their collective after 70 hours of long meetings.

The workers stress that their collective is sound, and that on the basis of their work results they have a possibility for an increase in personal incomes, with which management structures disagree. The workers told representatives of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina about their misfortunes.

The meeting at the Assembly is in progress.

Talks Held at Assembly

AU2608161088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Ljubo Nikolic report]

[Text] More than 1,000 workers of the Energoinvest concrete reinforcements factory who have been on strike for 3 days, are holding talks with representatives from Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly. Here is Ljubo Nikolic in Sarajevo:

Carrying pictures of Comrade Tito and party and state flags, more than 1,000 workers of the Energoinvest concrete reinforcements factory walked six kilometers from their meeting place to the republican assembly building at (?Marijin Dvor).

Talks with republican representatives in the great hall took place in a generally calm and dignified way. Presenting their troubles, the workers stressed that this collective is operating successfully: In the first 6 months of this year, exports were increased to $54 million. Work is going on day and night chiefly for foreign markets, but (?actual) results are nevertheless getting worse; deductions from income are increasing; luxury flats are being built; the number of official cars in the country is not decreasing; the self-managing rights of the workers are being violated, and various privileges are not being scrapped.

They mentioned Agrokomerc, Neum, the villa Carrington in Sarajevo, and various other negative phenomena throughout the country. The workers are also bothered by the lack of unity in the LCY leadership and (?their basic demands are) a reduction of the burden of taxation borne by the economy and an increase in their personal incomes. At the moment they receive 320,000 dinars [per month] on average and consider that this is not enough considering the present high prices and their work results. They are asking for as much again. They have been striking for 3 days already and say that they will not resume work unless their demands are met.

The Energoinvest workers say that the country could be pulled out of the crisis only if work is rewarded honestly and the self-managing rights of the workers are respected.

The workers greeted the speeches of their representatives who were mainly from the strike committee, with prolonged applause and by chanting, We are Tito's, Tito is ours.

The talks in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly which began at about 1300 are continuing.

Strikers Return to Factory

LD2608191388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Summary] Sarajevo, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—The workers of Energoinvest's metal fittings factory in Sarajevo, who had 3-hour talks today with representatives of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, returned to the factory having been told that the decision on wages could not be made in the assembly but in the factory. The strikers' committee decided to try and find a solution over the weekend, and it depends on the outcome of these talks with the leadership of the collective whether or not the first-shift workers will work on Monday.

Work To Resume 29 Aug

LD2708194788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Summary] Sarajevo, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—The workers of Energoinvest's metal fittings factory are to resume work Monday. This was decided by the strikers' committee after their meeting with the factory and composite organization of associated labor management. It was agreed that, if the law permits, personal incomes should go up by 30 percent. It was also agreed that a part of this increase should be distributed across the board and part of it set aside for a one-time payment for workers on the lowest wages.

Ivangrad Coal Miners Return to Work

LD2608190888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 Gmt 26 Aug 88

[Text] Ivangrad, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Miners at the Ivangrad brown coal mine who stopped work yesterday, decided today at about 1600 to go down the mine. They were today paid two personal incomes they had earned and were promised that during September consideration would be given to the possibility of paying bonuses and winter allowances as well as an adjustment to personal incomes, which are the lowest in the mining industry.

At today's meeting demands were also expressed for the replacement of the director-general and his colleagues, including the Workers' Council and the trade union chairman. However, as there were also other opinions a definitive decision on this was not adopted.

Strike Ends at Factory After Demands Met

LD2608191788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Cacak, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—A 24-hour strike by about 700 production workers at the Metalac enamel dishes plant in Gorni Milanovac ended this afternoon. The strike began yesterday at noon to protest the intention of the factory's management not to pay a sum amounting to 117 million dinars, which had been refunded to the collective from the republican pension and disability insurance self-managing community of interest, in addition to the personal income. The explanation for this move by the management was that personal incomes are, allegedly, already higher than average in the municipality.

At a 4-hour meeting the workers' demand that the money should be paid was accepted, but they also made several fresh demands. Apart from other things, there was a request for a more significant reduction as soon as possible in the number of employees in administrative jobs.

Labin Miners Drop Demand for Further Raise

LD2608213088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Summary] Labin, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—The first- and second-shift miners of the Tupljak coal mines in Istria today approved the decision of their workers' council on a 31-percent pay rise, abandoning their previous demand for a 50-percent increase. After a very short meeting of the workers' council the second-shift miners went back to work.

10,000 Attend Rally

LD2708164888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1509 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Titov Vrbas, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—After a rally lasting 1 hour, about 10,000 participants in the protest meeting left the square in the center of Titov Vrbas singing the song, Comrade Tito, we swear to you. Three speakers appeared on the platform of the meeting which took place in a calm atmosphere, as had been predicted. Words of support were heard that the situation in Kosovo should be resolved more rapidly and efficiently. However, on this occasion once again Krunic, Stojsic, Matic, Vlasi, and Vrhovec were singled out by name for criticism.

Kosovo Protest Meeting Begins in Titov Vrbas

AU2708144388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Nikola Bulatovic report]

[Text] A great meeting of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo has begun in Liberation Square in Titov Vrbas. Several thousand citizens from Titov Vrbas, from Vojvodina, and from all over the country are attending. The Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins have arrived in this town in Backa to once again demonstrated their dissatisfaction with the slow search for solutions to the Kosovo problems. Together with those who joined them before the official beginning of the meeting, they marched in the streets carrying banners, singing the anthem and the song, Yugoslavia, and shouting numerous slogans. Nikola Bulatovic reports from Titov Vrbas:

The Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija began arriving in Titov Vrbas in the early hours of the morning. Among the first, were a busload from Istok and several villages of that commune: (?Otojan), Prekale, (?Tuca, Soljinovica), Belo Polje, Velika, and others. There are people from Kosovo Polje, Lipljan, Obilic, Kuzmin, Vitina, Urosevac, Pec, and Klina here. The bus carries slogans: We are not nationalists, We are humbled, Persecuted, and offended; Do not allow us to emigrate from age-old hearths; We know who sold kosovo; and several others.

As always on such occasions, people tell their troubles and explain what drives them to make such long journeys so that they may tell others about everything and ask them for help, and that they may acquaint Yugoslavia not only with their personal problems but also with the ultimate objectives of the counterrevolution.

Blagoje Zujic, farmer from Istok, says:

[Begin recording] We do not know where to go. We can hardly complain (?because of the pressure). We are in a critical situation in which we are and of which all the people of Yugoslavia should be ashamed of, because of all the things that are done to us. [end recording]

The Kosovo people reached Titov Vrbas by bus, by train, and by private car, and several hundreds gathered before the beginning of the meeting. They were joined by individuals and groups from several Vojvodina villages and towns, and those attending the meeting include people from Belgrade, Titograd, Kolasin, Niksic, Valjevo, Nis, and other towns and places. The Kolasin people display a banner: Brothers, Kolasin is with you in the struggle against the counterrevolution.

The hosts, representatives of Titov Vrbas, cordially welcomed the meeting participants, and the Kosovo-Metohija Serbs and Montenegrins have been provided with lunch, electricity, water, and all the comforts needed to hold a normal meeting.

As we are reporting, a mass people's meeting is under way in the center of the town, in Liberation Square. It is to be officially addressed by Tomislav Vojvodic, president of the communal assembly, and Milan Vutic, veteran of 1941; and on behalf of the Serbs and Montenegrins, it is to be addressed by Milorad Radulovic, veteran of 1941 from Obilic.

Report on Rally

LD2708201388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Titov Vrbas, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—The solidarity meeting with Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo began in Titov Vrbas today with the singing of an anthem in the square outside the House of Culture in this town. About 10,000 participants in the meeting were welcomed by Tomisla Vojvodic, president of the Titov Vrbas Municipal Assembly. [passage omitted]

The solidarity meeting was organized by the Committee for Protest Meetings of Serbs and Montengrins from Kosovo and Metohija. The Titov Vrbas municipal Socialist Aliance, complying with the stands of the LCY Central Committee, did not accept the initiative concerning the organization of a meeting of this nature, but it tried to ensure all the technical conditions to enable the protest meeting to function normally. The meeting was observed by a great number of domestic and foreign reporters accredited to the European basketball youth championship being held in this town.

The first groups of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and inhabitants of Titograd, Kolasin, Niksic and other places in Montenegro arrived in Vrbas during the morning. Luncheon had been arranged for them in the Lovac catering establishment. After the luncheon, as early as 1300, the first columns were formed with banners and pictures of Comrade Tito and Njegos [Pince Njegos, poet and former ruler of Montenegro]. In addition to the banners already seen during previous similar meetings, expressing support for the Serbian LC Central Committee and for Slobodan Milosevic and singling out Krunic, Stojsic, Vlasi, and Vrhovec for criticism by name, the marchers carried slogans saying: "Serbia has two Kamenicas—Kosovoska Kamenica and Sremska Kamenica"; "Yugoslavia rescue us"; "The people are getting ready to leave their homes".

The group of about 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, who started walking down Mrsala Tita Street and Ivana Milutinovica Street, were joined by columns of citizens from the Montenegrin towns of Titograd, Kolasin, and Niksic. They too carried banners. Later they were joined by groups of citizens from the neighboring villages of Lovcen, Zmajevo, Kljajicevo, Backo Dobro Polje, and others which, after the war, were colonized mainly by Montenegrins, and also by a group of workers from the Novi Sad Jugoalat firm. The meeting was also attended by a group of several hundred inhabitants of Vrsac. A big group from Nova Pazova was there too. Singing revolutionary songs, but also songs such as "Montenegro and Serbia Are One Family" and "Soldiers Had Their Fun." The people who had gathered chanted "Neither division nor migration"; "You are our brothers"; "Together we are stronger"; "It is better to be in a grave than to be a slave"; "One constitution," "We want the referendum"; "Do not be afraid of Krunic"; "Long live the fraternal people of Vojvodina"; "Long live Slobodan Milosevic"; "Long live Batric Jovanovic." Slogans such as "They sold Kosovo down the river"; "We shall kill the fascists"; "Give us arms"; "Down with those who think like the Albanian irredentists"; "Only concord will save the Serbs" were also chanted. [passage omitted]

After the municipal president had spoken, the floor was taken by Milorad Radulovic, national liberation war participant from Obilic. He began by explaining that the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo had come here to brief the citizens of Titov Vrbas on their difficulties and troubles, "but also to ask you to do everything you can to make sure your leadership, your representatives in the Federation and in Serbia put in as much effort as they should and as is required by the situation in Kosovo and Metohija so that the question of our survival is finally resolved. We have not come to stir up trouble among the people here or to wreck brotherhood and unity and cause the intranational relations in Vojvodina to get worse," stressed Radulovic, reminding the population of Titov Vrbas that they are "the descendants of whose who through centuries had experienced various Golgothas and were forced to fight for their lives just as we do today."

Having recalled that the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo have had enough of "empty stories that efforts should be made to accelerate the solution of the Kosovo drama", Radulovic stressed that they are demanding "the solution of the Kosovo drama, at any price and with all the means available to the state."

At that point he was interrupted by chanting from the assembled audience: "We cannot do it with Matic". "We can all see," Radulovic went on to say, "that this paper struggle against the counter-revolution is futile and that we have gotten into a critical situation when the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee are carried out inconsistently and we cannot see a way out. The adoption of the constitutional changes proposed by the Assembly of the SR of Serbia will create the conditions which will finally allow the state of Serbia to acquire all the functions enabling it to ensure constitutionality and legality and an equal status for all the working people and citizens throughout its single territory. It is not wanted, and no one wishes to, jeopardize the status of autonomous units," said Radulovic. He went on to say that as he sees it "the situation in Kosovo and Metohija is more difficult today than it was during the war. Attacks such as rapes, ill-treatment of children, assaults on girls, women, and old women and on cultural sites—which now is happening more and more frequently—did not take place then. Less than 10 percent of rapes are reported in the press because the people under threat wish to conceal this shameful act." [passage omitted]

The speech by Milorad Radulovic, a 1941 Kosovo partisan, was punctuated by chanting: "Let the Army into Kosovo" and "We want freedom".

Milan Gutic, the last speaker during the meeting today, welcomed the participants on behalf of the war veterans in this municipality. He said that "the war veterans from this locality feel and experience the Kosovo drama and tragedy as if it applies to them and to the whole of socialist Yugoslavia." For this reason, "We demand most vigorously that the severest measures be taken against those who have allowed this situation in Kosovo to happen and against those who today are not carrying out the tasks arising from the Yugoslav program on Kosovo", said Gutic.

The solidarity meeting, which went on for about 1 hour, ended with the singing of the song: "Comrade Tito, We Swear to You".

Rally Issues Statement

LD2708195688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Titov Vrbas, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—The meeting in Titov Vrbas attended by about 10,000 citizens was a mark of solidarity with Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of other nations and nationalities in Kosovo, says a statement issued by the Presidium of the Titov Vrbas SAWP Municipal Conference in connection with the solidarity meeting in Titov Vrbas. The statement also emphasizes that the demand was expressed for a more rapid and effective solution of the problems in Kosovo, especially in the matter of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under duress.

At the same time, working people and citizens and members of all the nations and nationalities in this environment expressed at the meeting their resolute commitment to the further development of the brotherhood and unity and equality of all nations and nationalities and to a united Tito's Yugoslavia.

However, a minority at the meeting chanted slogans which were contrary to the stands and behavior of the vast majority of participants in the meeting, the statement says.

Protest Meeting Ends

AU2708184188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Report by Nikola Bulatovic and Momcilo Boskovic from Titov Vrbas]

[Text] The Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins were cordially welcomed in Titov Vrbas today. Liberal estimates show that more than 30,000 people gathered in Liberation Square in the town, and they included many who had a long journey behind them intending to express support for the suffering people. Individuals and groups could be seen here from all parts of Vojvodina, Serbia, and even Montenegro: They were from Kolasin, Niksic, and other places.

Opening the meeting today, Tomislav Vojvodic, president of the communal assembly, said that this multinational community in which members of 20 peoples and nationalities live was for a long time unable to understand that anything like this could exist in socialist Yugoslavia, country of freedom and of fighters, and particularly that it could be tolerated. There can be no peace and security in any part of our country if security is threatened in any part of it, Vojvodic said. He appealed that one should not lose faith in the LC, regardless of disunity in its highest leadership. If the leadership wants the people to follow it, the leadership must be the alert part of the people, and must live a life that people live, and must implement people's desires and strivings, Vojvodic said.

Before veteran Milorad Radulovic of Obilic, representative of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, began to speak, one could hear several thousand voices shouting.

[Begin recording] [Chanting: Welcome Kosovo people] [Radulovic] (?Comrades:) I stress at the beginning that we have come so that we may at this meeting and afterwards, in direct contact, acquaint you with our suffering and misfortunes and to ask you to do everything in your power so that your leadership, your representatives in the Federation and in Serbia, may invest as much effort as necessary and as demanded by the situation in Kosovo and Metohija. [cheers, chanting: We are all from Kosovo] [end recording]

It is high time, Radulovic said, that the fascist methods of great Albanian chauvinists and separatists in persecuting our people be opposed. What we need and what we request is the solution to the Kosovo crisis, and we want it at once, at any cost, and with all the means available to the state. Radulovic added that Kosovo daily life consists of attacks on property, stealing of crops, burning of houses, cutting down of orchards, threats, fights, destruction of graves and tombstones.

However, instead of self-critically naming those who are to be blamed for the present situation, the Presidium and the Presidency of Kosovo call the Committee of Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo and Metohija to task because of protest meetings. What is also malicious is the thesis of a Novi Sad daily which called us malicious guests. But we are not and cannot be guests in any part of the state of Serbia or Yugoslavia, and had we been malicious, would you welcome us in this way and in such numbers?

Concluding his speech with the assessment that the greatest risk at present is to live in Kosovo and Metohija, Milorad Radulovic expressed his conviction that the meeting in Titov Vrbas today is a contribution to the liquidation of the counterrevolution in this part of our country.

The meeting was also addressed by Milan Gutic, veteran of 1941 of Titov Vrbas. On behalf of the veterans of this town he requested the LCY Central Committee to take most energetic measures to solve the difficult and unbearable Kosovo drama.

Second Protest Meeting on Kosovo Scheduled

AU2708184888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] After the meeting in Titov Vrbas, the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins traveled to Srpski Miletic in the Odzaci commune where a meeting will be held with the local people this evening.

Government Leaders Criticized

LD2708020388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Srpski Miletic, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—After the solidarity meeting in Titov Vrbas a group of about 300 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo gathered in Srpski Miletic, where a meeting of citizens was held tonight. More than 1,000 inhabitants of this village in Odzaci municipality offered their support for efforts to solve the Kosovo problems more rapidly and efficiently. It was said that the state should use all measures available, including repressive measures. A group of citizens from other Vojvodina places—Vrsac, Nova Pazova, Savino Selo, and Backo Dobro Polje—and from some other localities took part in the rally. At this meeting the newly learned slogans were chanted, and support was expressed for the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and other institutions in the republic "to persist in creating a united, strong Serbia."

Raca Kocic, the first speaker, said that they had come to hold this rally "to protest and raise our voice against many people occupying leading posts in the politics and the economy who had moved from function to function and who by their irresponsible, opportunist, and wasteful behavior have brought about an economic and political crisis and pushed the Yugoslav working class to the poverty line."

"Some current politicians, said Kocic, especially in the provinces, have to be removed from the political scene because they, in order to keep the positions they have acquired, are causing a split between the nations and nationalities and in so doing are deepening the crisis." Speaking of the situation in Kosovo Kocic said, among other things: "The people who for years have been poisoning the Albanian people with untruths have infiltrated the biggest enemies among the educational cadres and brought teachers from Albania with the result that an entire generation of Albanians have been steeped in separatism and nationalism and have wormed their way into top Kosovo leadership. A great deal of patience and work with this young generation will be required to make them go back to the right road, the road of brotherhood and unity, the road of happiness shared by us all. We are wondering which forces will do this, because many Kosovo leaders are not doing it, and many leaders in other republics and Vojvodina Province are deepening the crisis even further with their statements."

At this meeting some provincial and federal leaders were singled out for criticism. In this connection Milutin Rajkovic, speaking on behalf of the war veterans in this locality, said: "Criticism is justified because when some provincial leaders and members of the LCY Central Committee can single out a nation for criticism and address insults to a nation which cannot defend itself, then this is a monumental political blunder. For instance: Vrhovec called the Serbs and Montenegrins emigrating from Kosovo nationalists, while Krunic said that they were permeated with chetnik ideas. Azem Vlasi calls them cowards. The question is rightly asked whether these comrades should in the future represent the League of Communists," said Rajkovic.

In the wake of everything heard during the open session of the LCY Central Committee, that is during the 16th session, this meeting requires of the next session of the LCY Central Committee and believes that the time has come for all those who foil the solution of the situation in Kosovo, constitutional reform, and the statehood of the Serbian SR to leave their functions, said Milutin Rajkovic. [passage omitted]

Speaking as a representative of the Odzaci Municipal assembly, Marko Smajevic said he believes that the campaign against irredentism should not be waged in congress halls but in Kosovo, by repressive measures all the way. The people should not be manipulated, and nor should Serbia be left without sovereignty and statehood. Constitutional solutions that secure the functions of the republic throughout its territory should be supported, Marko Smajevic concluded. The speakers were interrupted by chants of: "Let us go to Kosovo"; "Welcome, people from Kosovo"; "The people are with the Army"; "The army in Kosovo"; "Let the people pass judgment on them"; "Glory to the veterans"; "They betrayed the people"; "One Constitution"; "We want a referendum."

A telegram was sent from the meeting in Srpski Miletic to the LCY Central Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee in which support is expressed for efforts to resolve the Kosovo drama quickly and effectively. It says: "We believe that the 17th LCY Central Committee session will be crucial, and that the problems will be resolved and brought to an end through the meetings."

The residents of Srpski Miletic this evening offered accommodation to a group of about 300 people from Kosovo.

Speaker Defends Constitution

LD2808193388 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Excerpts] The beginning of the construction of a memorial house named after the great educationalist Dositej Obradovic marked the 47th anniversary of the organized departure of the inhabitants of Irig and of the surrounding area to join the partisans on Fruska Gora. The rally was addressed by Trifu Doru, a member of the Republican Conference of the Vojvodina Socialist Alliance Presidium. [passage omitted]

Doru then spoke of the current socioeconomic and political issues stressing that following the LCY Conference unfortunately the sociopolitical situation rapidly turned for the worse and fresh divisions and splits occurred accompanied by the methods and means which are incompatible with self-management democracy and interparty relations. It must be clear to everyone responsible for this deteriorating situation that the LC and the working class of Yugoslavia cannot be deprived of their rights and commitments to bear the responsibility for their own development and the development of our entire community in the future too.

The working people and citizens of Vojvodina, Trifu Doru went on to say, have made a significant contribution to the development of Serbia as a state and as a self-management community which comprises two autonomous provinces. This is why the responsibility of the republic for the autonomy of the provinces and the responsibility of the provinces for democratic and socialist unity of the republic in keeping with constitutional principles must be strengthened.

He went on to recall that the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and especially its most drastic aspect—emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under duress—has been roundly denounced in Vojvodina. However, we cannot accept the assessment that the Constitution is responsible for the deeply disrupted intranational relations in Kosovo because in Vojvodina the Constitution has been the basis of an exactly opposite situation—affirmation of brotherhood and unity.

However, recently an unprincipled politization of pressure and public presentation of ideopolitically unacceptable stands have taken place. Unitarist ideas are being trotted out. At the same various leaders and would-be little leaders do not choose methods and means, or even allies, in the struggle for their political objectives. They do not shrink even from playing with the future of Yugoslavia and the reputation of the LC as they impose their own stands and interests. They have caused the extraconstitutional and antiparty atmosphere to reach a fever pitch so that some constitutional solutions can be proclaimed definitive and solely correct. An attempt is being made with street pressure and protest meetings to inaugurate the policy of the accomplished fact coupled with an unprecented propaganda campaign in some public media. All this, Trifu Doru said in conclusion, is being done allegedly on behalf of the people although at the moment the most pronounced thing is the concern of the entire Yugoslav people whether the LCY and its Central Committee will muster the strength to mount a resolute action to prevent these excesses and to affirm its policy.

3,000 Attend Meeting

AU2708203588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] At the sports center at Srpski Miletic, a meeting of solidarity of the people of this village in Backa with the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo was held this evening. The meeting which lasted more than 1 and ½ hours, was attended by more than 3,000 people of Srpski Miletic and surrounding places. Radomir Kocic, president of the SAWP local organization branch; Marko Smajevic, president of the communal assembly of Odzaci; Milutin Rajkovic, president of the Veterans organization in Srpski Miletic; and Miroslav Solevic, member of the meetings organizational committee, spoke at the meeting and were frequently interrupted by applause.

The meeting addressed telegrams to the presidiums of the Central Committees of the LCY and the LC of Serbia. The meeting passed without incident.

Sarajevo Army District Maneuvers End 27 Aug

LD2708125288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0816 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—Regular tests of the degree of combat training of the units, commands, and headquarters of the Sarajevo army district, the territorial defense of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and other social structures in the central Bosnian region ended today. The exercises were commanded by Colonel General Anton Lukezic, commander of the Sarajevo army district, and the final activities were attended and observed by Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, Chief of General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces.

The participants in the exercises showed a high degree of training, physical readiness and preparation for action in complex combat situations. By their efforts, knowledge, and expertise in handling modern weapons and technology, the soldiers and officers of the Armed Forces, as well as the members of other structures of defense-protection system, showed in practice that they can successfully master tasks and operations as may be required in possible war conditions.

Temporary Ban Imposed on Split Weekly

LD2608205988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2017 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Split, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—The district public prosecutor's office in Split today ordered the imposition of a temporary ban on the distribution of the current affairs weekly "NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA," No 904 of 28 August this year, because of "its inappropriate and vulgar" portrayal of the situation in Split municipality's city community and the insulting of some prominent sociopolitical personalities on page 27 of this paper, under the heading: Beacon: [feral].

In the opinion of the prosecutor's office, relations between the sociopolitical communities and the inhabitants of these communities in the area of Split municipality's city community are portrayed in these articles in an inappropriate, vulgar, primitive, and insulting way. The articles insult and denigrate prominent sociopolitical personalities, including Ivo Latin [president of the Croatian Presidency], Stipe Suvar [president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium], Drago Urlicic, Gordana Kosanovic, and Mate Barisin. The trial held at the Ljubljana Military Court in the criminal case of those found guilty—Janez Jansa and others—is likewise denigrated. the district public prosecutor's office proposes a permanent ban on this issue of "NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA."

Greece Violates Agreement on Use of Lake Water

LD2608172088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Ilija Djukic, assistant federal secretary for Foreign Affairs, today summoned Greek Charge d'Affaires Stratos Doukas and pointed out to him that competent Yugoslav organs have reported that, despite earlier warnings, Greece has exceeded the permitted amount of use of the water of Lake Dojran. Djukic reminded the Greek charge d'affaires that Yugoslavia, as an act of good will toward its neighbor, Greece, consented to the drawing of 5 million cubic meters of water from Lake Dojran at a specific rate, provided that the level of the lake did not fall more than 10 centimeters. However, the Greek side has not abided by this agreement.

It emerges from joint measurements by Greek and Yugoslav experts that this pumping out of water has led to the reduction in the water level by 58 centimeters, in other words, [to the drawing of] more than 21 million cubic meters of water in excess of the permitted amount. It also emerges that the Greek side did not set up a net to prevent the discharge of large numbers of young fish, that on the Greek side the regulatory threshold for the minimum level of the lake has been abolished, and the drainage channel has been deepened, and that with all these unforeseeable negative consequences which have arisen for the Yugoslav economy and for the lake, which is of rare beauty in Europe, there is the threat of an ecological catastrophe. It is in the common and general interest that this lake should be preserved.

Assistant Federal Secretary Djukic requested the charge d'affaires to ensure that the Greek side immediately stops drawing water from Lake Dojran. At the same time the Yugoslav side expressed its readiness for further joint work by experts of the two countries on this question.

Water Abuse Protested

LD2608165688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Tome Kuzmanovski, deputy chairman of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, today received Mr Doukas, a political adviser of the Greek Embassy. On this occasion Kuzmanovski expressed our dissatisfaction at the one-sided over-use of water from Lake Dojran for irrigating the Salonica basin. He asked the Greek side to ensure, as early as today, that a halt will be made to the drawing of water from the lake and that tomorrow (27 August 1988 at 1200) a meeting of a group of Yugoslav and Greek experts will be held for the purpose of establishing the facts of the situation; he also announced the possibility that the Yugoslav side will ask the Greek side to pay any damages arising from its drawing of water over and above the 5 million cubic meters of water which the Yugoslav side had agreed the Greeks could take.